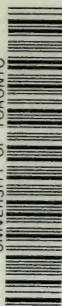


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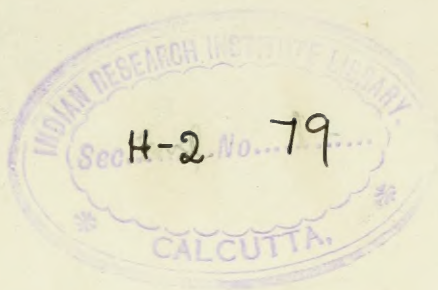
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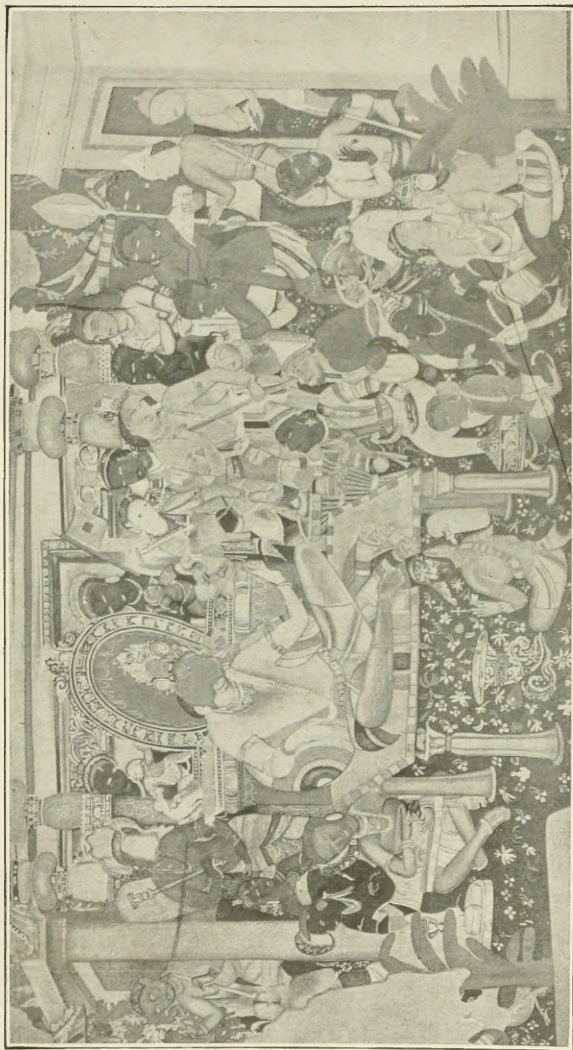
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Reception of the Ambassadors of the Persian King Khusru II., in 625 A.D.

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A HISTORY OF INDIA

BY

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(Fourth Edition, Revised and Enlarged.)



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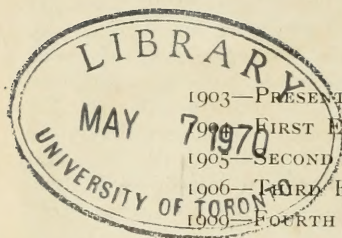
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1909



1903—PRESENTATION EDITION.

1904—FIRST EDITION.

1905—SECOND EDITION.

1906—THIRD EDITION.

1909—FOURTH EDITION.

PREFATORY NOTE TO FIRST EDITION.

IN writing this History, the chief points the authors had in view were to present it in an interesting narrative form, as well as in agreement with the results of modern research,—in both respects (as they believe) a new departure

The numerous inscriptions, coins, and manuscripts, discovered in late years, as well as a more extended study of Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian Literature have brought to light a mass of new facts which have greatly modified many hitherto accepted views of Indian History. Having for many years acted as Philological Secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal and Numismatist Adviser to the Government of India, the first of the joint-authors has had special facilities for the study of the new information. To those who are not familiar with the latter, his presentation of the earlier history of India, comprising the first three Empires, may come as a surprise. Lengthy references to authorities, and discussions of rival, and (it may be) discredited theories would obviously be out of place in a short School History. But in order to assist Teachers who may be desirous of further informing themselves, a selected list of the best and latest writings on Indian Antiquities has been added.

The history of the Fourth and Fifth Empires has been written after consulting standard works on the periods concerned, and the events recorded are those which have been established by the investigations of discriminative and competent scholars of Indian History.

A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE.
HERBERT A. STARK.

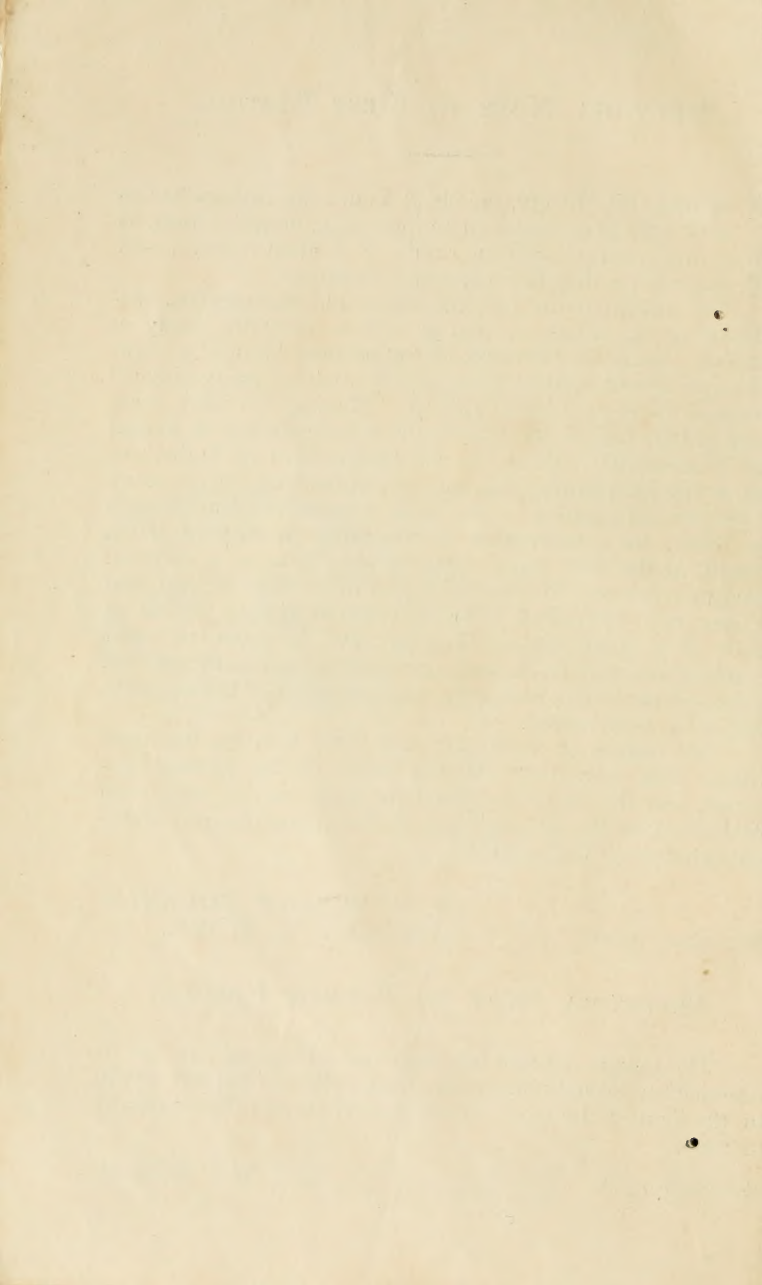
November, 1906.

PREFATORY NOTE TO FOURTH EDITION.

The present edition has been revised throughout, and its information brought up-to-date (especially in Chapters vi-viii) in the light of the most recent researches and discoveries up to 1908.

September 1908

THE AUTHORS.



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- (9) 1890. Sir Walter Elliot : Coins of Southern India. (In *Numismata Orientalia*.)

- (10) See Chapter VI., Nos. 10 and 11.

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- (2) 1894. Lane Poole : Muhammadan Dynasties.

- (3) 1871. E. Thomas : Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi.

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- (4) 1900. R. Sewell : A Forgotten Empire (Vijayanagar.)

- (5) See Chapter VI., Nos. 10 and 11.

Chapters I-IX.

Perhaps the most useful guide-book is C. Mabel Duff's *Chronology of India*, giving in chronological order a table of events from the birth of Buddha down to the Mughal conquest, or from 557 B.C. to 1530 A.D., each entry being supported by copious references to authorities up to the date of publication, 1899.

Numerous articles on points of detail by Messrs. Bendall, Bhandarkar, Bühler, Fleet, Hara Prasada Shastri, Hoernle, Hopkins, Hultzsch, Jacobi, Kielhorn, Levi, Senart, Stein, and others, may be found in the following periodicals :

- (1) Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- (2) Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- (3) Journal of the Bombay Branch of No. 2.
- (4) Journal Asiatique (French).
- (5) Journal of the German Oriental Society.
- (6) Journal of the American Oriental Society.
- (7) Indian Antiquary.
- (8) Epigraphia India.
- (9) Vienna Oriental Journal.
- (10) Archæological Survey Reports of Sir A. Cunningham, J. Burgess, and others.
- (11) Numismatic Chronicle.
- (12) Numismata Orientalia.

Index to Subject-Heads in the Matriculation History Syllabus of the Calcutta University.

SUBJECTS.

- The Physical Features of the Country.
- The Aborigines of India. Immigrations from the North-east and North-west.
- The Aryans. The Indo-Aryans.
- The Vedas. Relation of the Rig-Veda to other Vedas.
- The Brahmans. The Smritis. Manu.
- The Caste System.
- Buddha and Buddhism.
- Mahavira and the Jains.
- The Kingdoms of Kosala and Magadha. The Empire of the Nandas.
- Invasion of Alexander the Great.
- Accounts of India given by Greek Writers.
- The Maurya Empire. Chandra Gupta. Asoka.
- The Kushana Empire. Kanishka. The Saka Era. The Gupta Empire. Buddhist Architecture and the Fine Arts.
- Chinese Pilgrims. Kali Das. Vikramaditya. The Vikrama Era.
- Rise of the Rajputs.
- Muhammadan Conquest of Sind and the Punjab.
- Mahmud of Ghazni.
- Hindu Civilization on the eve of the Muhammadan rule in India.
- The Tarki (Pathan) Dynasties. Muhammad Ghori. Qutbuddin.
- Altamsh. Raziyyat. Mughal Invasion.

Conquest of Gujarat ; Malwa ; and the Deccan. Incursions into Southern India. Allauddin.

The Tughlak Dynasty. Muhammad Tughlak. Firuz Tughlak. Timur's Invasion.

Break-up of the Pathan Empire.

The Muhammadan Kingdoms of Delhi, Bengal, Jaunpur, Gujarat, The Deccan.

The Hindu Kingdoms of Vijayanagar, Meywar (Rajputana and Udaipur) and Orissa.

Rise of Religious Sects under Pathan Rule ; Ramananda, Kabir, Nanak, Chaitanya. Spread of Muhammadanism.

Pathan Architecture. The Urdu Language. Indian Literature in Pathan times.

The Mughal Dynasty, Babar, Humayun, Sher Shah, Restoration of Humayun.

Akbar, Todar Mall, Abul Fazl.

Jahangir, Nur Jahan, Sir Thomas Roe.

Shah Jahan, Bernier, Mughal Architecture.

Aurangzeb, Rajput Revolt, Aurangzeb's treatment of Hindus, Sivaji and the Marathas.

Break-up of the Mughal Empire. The Successors of Aurangzeb, Revolt of the Provinces, Invasion of the Marathas, Invasion of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali, Struggle for supreme power between Muhammadans and Marathas.

The Maratha Confederacy. Extent of Maratha Dominion.

Contact of the Marathas with the English.

The Europeans in India. Discovery of the Cape route to India by the Portuguese. The Dutch, the French, and the English Merchant Companies, and early Settlement. First Charter of the East India Company.

The French in India. Dupleix.

The English in India, Clive. English Wars and Territorial acquisitions in Madras, Bengal and Bombay. Plassey. The Dewani. Early History of Calcutta. Clive's System of administration.

Warren Hastings, his Financial, Revenue and Judicial Reforms, his Relations with Native Powers. The Regulating Act. Warren Hastings first Governor-General. Extent of British Dominion in his time. Pitt's India Bill.

Lord Cornwallis, his administration Reforms. The Permanent Settlement.

Sir John Shore, his Non-intervention Policy.

Lord Wellesley, his wars with Mysore, and with the Marathas. The system of Subsidiary Treaties.

Lord Minto, State of Central India, Extension of Relations of British Indian Government with Foreign Powers outside India. Renewal of the Company's Charter.

Lord Hastings, his Wars with Nepal, and with the Marathas.

Lord Amherst, the first Burmese War.

Lord William Bentinck, his Social and Administration Reforms. Renewal of the Company's Charter. Sir Charles Metcalfe.

Lord Auckland, his Policy, the First Afghan War.

Lord Ellenborough, the Sindh War.

Lord Hardinge, the first Sikh War.

Lord Dalhousie, the Second Sikh War, the Doctrine of Lapse, and the Annexation Policy. The Second Burmese War. Material Progress of the Country under Dalhousie.

Lord Canning. The Indian Mutiny, Probable Causes, the Assumption of Direct Government by the Crown. The Queen's Proclamation.

India under the Viceroys, Financial Reforms. The Orissa Famine, and other Great Famines. The Second, and Third

Afghan Wars. The Third Burmese War. Delimitation of Frontier Boundaries.

The Marathas, their Rise; Sivaji and his Successors. Maratha System of War, Administration, and Revenue. Rise of the Peshwas. Baji Rao, his Successors. Origin of the chief existing Maratha States.

Mysore: an Ancient Hindu Kingdom. Haidar Ali, his Wars with the Marathas, the Nizam and the English. Tipu Sultan. Restoration of the Hindu Dynasty.

The Sikhs, Their origin and Religion. Guru Govinda. Their struggle with Ahmad Shah Abdali. Ranjit Singh, his Conquests, the Khalsa. Ranjit Singh's Successors.

INTRODUCTION.

The Physical Features of India, and some • Observations thereon.

INDIA may broadly be divided into three distinct parts. The first is the Himalayan region, which includes Kashmir, Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan. The second is the Great Plain between the Vindhya Mountains and the Himalayas. It contains the Punjab, Rajputana, Central India, the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, and Northern Bengal. The third is the Peninsula of India, otherwise known by the name of the Deccan. It comprises all the country lying between the Vindhya Mountains and Cape Comorin.

1. The Himalayan Region.—The Himalaya Mountains may be described as a double wall running from east to west. The Indus, the Sutlej, and the Sangpo (Brahmaputra) take their rise on the Tibetan side of the northern wall, while the southern slopes of the first or southern wall hold the sources of the Ganges and its northern tributaries. From their north-western extremity the Himalayas send out into Afghanistan a knot of wild and rugged mountains called the Hindu Kush. Similarly, from the eastern extremity of the Himalayas the Patkai Hills take their start in a southerly direction. The Chinese spent much time and labour in building the Great Wall of China in order that they might prevent their warlike neighbours from invading the country. But Nature has provided India with a mightier barrier in the Himalayas on her northern boundary. These mountains have prevented the Mongolian races of Asia from making incursions into the rich plains of the Ganges, and India has never been

anxious about the defences of the north. But it must not be supposed that there is absolutely no way of getting to Tibet from India. For at the western extremity of the Himalayas, there are two sets of passes, one set leading into Eastern Turkestan and Tibet, and another set leading into Afghanistan. Among the former may be mentioned the Mustagh, Karakoram and Chanchenmo Passes, and among the latter the Khaibar, Bholan and Gomal Passes, and the Kuran Valley. It was through the north-western passes that the early Aryan and Turki immigrants came into India. The gorge through which the Brahmaputra enters India at the north-eastern corner is so narrow that, though it admitted Tibeto-Burman and Tai immigrations, nothing is to be feared from the invasion of an enemy in that direction.

2. The Great Plain.—The Great Plain of Northern India is watered by three systems of rivers. (1) The Punjab is irrigated by the Indus and Sutlej which gather their water on the northern side of the southern range of the Himalayas, and by their tributaries—the Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi and Beas—which obtain their supplies from the southern slopes of the same mountains. (2) Rajputana, Central India, the United Provinces, and Northern Bengal are fertilised by the Ganges, which, with its tributaries the Jumna, the Goomti, the Gogra and the Gunduck, takes its rise in the southern sides of the Himalaya. The southern confluents of the Ganges, *e.g.*, the Chambal and the Sone, emerge from the Vindhya Mountains. The name Hindustan is applied to the tract of country bordered on the north by the Sutlej and on the south by the Chambal, and also includes the Trans-Gangetic provinces of Oudh and Rohilkhand. Its eastern portion between the Ganges and the Jumna is designated the Doab. The fertility of the Great Plain attracted the early Aryans and other settlers, and it became the scene of those ancient race

movements which have permanently influenced the civilization and political destinies of the whole of India. How the Aryans took possession of the Great Plain, and amalgamated with the aboriginal races whom they found there is related in Chapters I and III.

3. The Deccan or Peninsula of India.—The term Deccan in its widest application embraces the whole of Southern India from the Vindhya Mountains to Cape Comorin. In a somewhat restricted sense it comprises the Central Provinces, Berar, the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay, Mysore, and several protected states, chief among which are those of the Nizam, Sindhia, and Holkar. In its narrowest application it is the name of the high inland tract between the Narbada and the Krishna. The line which separates it from the Great Plain is formed by the Vindhya Mountains and the system of hills connected with them—the Aravalli Hills, the Satpuras, the highlands of the Central Provinces, the Caimur Range, and the Rajmahal Hills. This chain of connected mountain ridges for centuries protected the Deccan from invasions in the same manner, though in a lesser degree, as the Himalayas checked incursions into the Great Plain from Central Asia. But more than this, for several centuries they frustrated every effort to bring the Deccan and Northern India under the sway of one and the same emperor.

From the western and eastern extremities of the Vindhya two mountain ranges, known as the Western and Eastern Ghauts respectively, run in a southerly direction and parallel with the sea. The margin between the Arabian Sea and the Western Ghauts is exceedingly narrow, and this tract of country having been cut off by Nature from the rest of the peninsula, its people are in a backward condition when compared with the inhabitants of other parts of India. On the other hand, a broad strip of lowland lies between the Eastern Ghauts and the Bay of Bengal. It is irrigated by the Mahanadi, Goda-

veri, Krishna and Kaveri, which, taking their rise in the western side of the Deccan, flow across the peninsula, and emerging through the openings in the Eastern Ghauts empty themselves into the Bay. Consequently the Karnatic, the Northern Circars, and Orissa have always been accessible to civilizing influences, and in them the ancient dynasties of Southern India fixed their capitals. The Western Ghauts are much higher than the Eastern Ghauts, and there are no rivers that flow into the Arabian Sea between Surat and Cape Comorin. The inner triangular plateau, shut in by the Vindhya Mountains and the Western and the Eastern Ghauts, rises from 1,000 to 3,000 feet above the level of the sea. It is entered on the west by several passes, the chief of which, the Bhore Pass, was in ancient times regarded as the key to the Deccan. Another important opening into the plateau is the Thal Ghat. The physical features of the Deccan, and particularly the rugged mountains of the Western Ghauts, made it possible for the Marathas to develop those methods of warfare which made them a terror to their neighbours, and a thorn in the side of the Mughal Emperors at Delhi.

It is common to speak of India as the central peninsula of Asia. But this is incorrect. For if a line be drawn from Cape Monze through Calcutta to Chittagong, it will be seen that only the part of India south of that line, which may roughly be taken to coincide with the Tropic of Cancer, is a peninsula, while the portion of the country north of that line belongs to the mainland of Asia. Furthermore, Cape Comorin is only eight degrees from the Equator, whereas Kashmir is thirty-six degrees from it. While, therefore, the southern half of India lies within the Torrid Zone, its northern half falls within the North Temperate Zone. We must therefore expect to find the Deccan differing considerably from the Great Plain and the Himalayan Belt in respect of its natural products and inhabitants, its climate and scenery. Accordingly, in the Punjab, North Rajputana, Sindh, and

a part of the United Provinces, the vast plains, which in the summer months are scorched by a burning sun, are in the rainy and cold seasons covered with crops of wheat, barley, maize, and other cereals of the temperate zone. In Lower Bengal, on the other hand, the vegetation is luxuriant, and rice grows plentifully. The Deccan has a uniform temperature throughout the year, and its vegetable products are distinctly tropical. Its western side receives much rain from the south-east monsoons; but the deficiency of rainfall on its eastern half is compensated by the water derived from the rivers that, passing through it, flow into the Bay of Bengal. Being altogether dependent upon the rains for its harvests, any excess or failure of rain results in a famine, of which there have been several. On the Malabar and Coromandal Coasts, which are within the influence of the brine from the sea, cocoanuts and palms abound. The physical features of Lower Burma are similar to those of Lower Bengal: but Upper Burma is hilly, less tropical, and less fertile. In respect of climate every variation of temperature prevails, from the eternal snows of the Himalayas to the great heat of the tropical south. A corresponding difference is observable in the characteristics of the inhabitants. In the north we have fair races of people; but as we go south the complexion of the natives of the country becomes darker, and they are less robust. Mountains and a cold climate produce good fighting races, and hence the Ghurkas, the Sikhs, the Punjabis, the Baluchis, the Pathans, the Dogras, the Rajputs and the Marathas are the best soldiers in the Native Army.

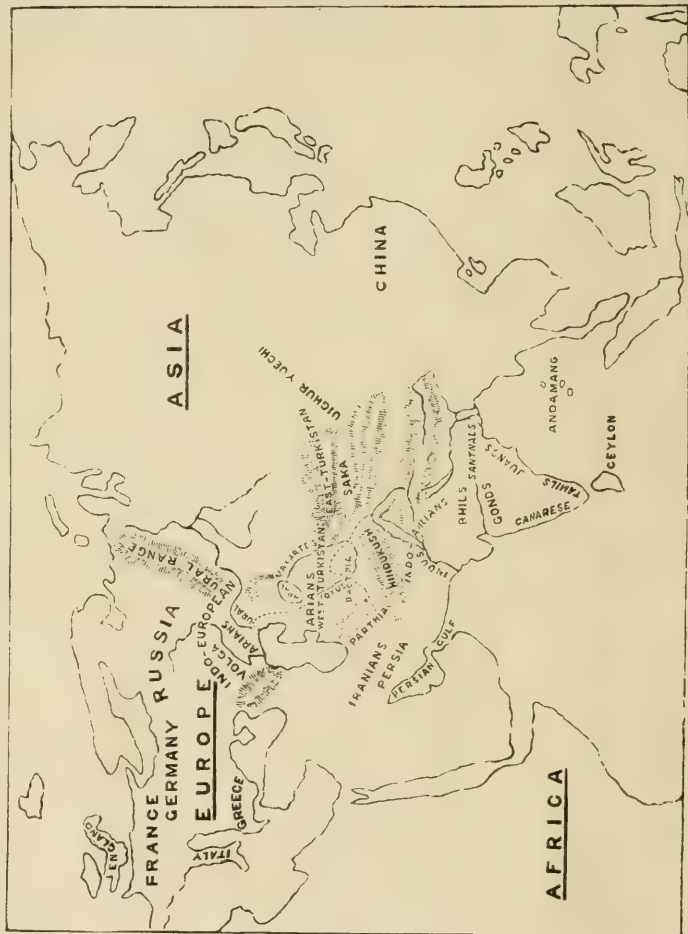
It might reasonably have been expected that India, with a sea coast of 5000 miles—from Cape Monze to Point Victoria in Tennaserim—would be a great maritime country. But such is not the case. It must be remembered that she has but few harbours, and that, as will be explained in the next paragraph, she is a self-contained country. Moreover, in olden times she was

so far from every naval power, that she originally had nothing to fear from enemies from across the seas, save from such minor pests as pirates who formerly landed in the creeks of the Malabar coast, or at the mouths of the rivers of the Coromandal coast. She, therefore, in bye-gone days, kept no navy ; and thus she was all unprepared to oppose the landing of European nations when they first anchored off her shores. Indeed, the only direction from which India may be invaded is through the passes along the North-West Frontier, and here the British Government has supplemented the protection afforded by Nature by building a chain of fortresses and outposts, and by furnishing them with strong garrisons of soldiers.

From what has been said it will be seen that India occupies a peculiar position. It may be likened to a fortress, protected in its northern half by mountain ranges with almost insuperable passes, and in its southern half by coasts almost destitute of natural harbours ; while within its own borders, with its varying climes, it possesses an abundance of desirable natural products of many kinds. This peculiar position of India accounts to a great extent for most of the special features of its history and its civilization. For it tended to foster a home-staying, self-contained population ; and none of its races developed into either a conquering or a seafaring nation like the Greeks or Romans of old, or the English of modern times. Its history has been enacted wholly within its own borders, which indeed are wide enough to permit of great variations and changes in point of politics and in culture. But though well protected from the outside world, India never has been entirely excluded from contact with it. At an early date, some maritime intercourse from its scanty harbours did take place with the Persian Gulf in the west and with the Chinese coast in the east. But though India, contented within its own borders, has never sent out hordes to seek new abodes, or armies to conquer neighbouring countries, it has been

repeatedly the victim of immigrations and invasions of peoples from beyond its borders. These outsiders modified its political history and added elements to its culture, but they were never able to deprive either of its peculiarly Indian character.

Only once did the self-contained character of India suffer a relaxation. This was when Buddhism was being spread beyond its borders ; and this conspicuous exception shows how deeply the soul of the people must have been stirred by that great religious movement.



CHAPTER I.

The Pre-historic Period : The Aborigines.

INDIA is not so much a country, as a continent. Hence also it exhibits continental characteristics. One of these is that **India & Europe.** its inhabitants are of many races, many languages, and many religions. In a country this might have been different. Take, for example, France or Germany. Their people are of one race, one language, and one religion. But then they are merely countries. They are much smaller than India, which indeed is about seven times as large as either France or Germany. In fact, India is rather larger than the whole continent of Europe, with Russia excluded. If now we compare it with Europe, the difference disappears; for Europe, like India, has many races, languages, and religions. The reason of this manifoldness is the same in both cases; it is the result of the wholesale migrations that often took place in ancient times.

In the earliest ages of which we have any knowledge, India was inhabited by a certain race of people who were distinguished **Savage**
by very dark skins and flat noses. We **Aborigines.** call them Aborigines, that is the people of the beginning, because we do not know whence and when they came into the country. There are certain linguistic reasons which seem to show that at some very remote time that race, which is now known as the Mon-Khmer, was spread not only over the whole of India, but extended also far eastwards into Burma and Siam. At the present day the race survives only in scattered remnants which are called Mundas, or, less appropriately,

Kolarians, and which include most of the uncivilized tribes that are still found inhabiting widely separate tracts of India. They are the Bhils, Kols, Santhals, Juangs, and other tribes of Central India, the Khasis of Assam, the natives of the Andaman and the Nicobar Islands, and the Veddas of Ceylon. They still retain most of the characteristic features of their remote forefathers. These were a savage people, living in small bands in the dense jungles and forests which then covered most parts of India. Their occupation was to hunt wild animals, or to raid upon one another, which they did with weapons made of stone. They lived on the wild produce of the jungle, on roots, and fruits, and raw flesh, and they knew neither the breeding of cattle, nor the tilling of land; nor had they any settled laws or forms of government. They made pots of clay, and baked them in fire. They buried their dead, and over their graves they set up upright slabs of rock or circles of stones. It is from these, and the things dug up in them, that we are able to form some idea of the life and the customs of the wild Aborigines.

But there were other aboriginal inhabitants of India who were not so wild. These **Civilized Aborigines.** were the Dravidians, such as the Tamils, Kanārese, Gonds, and others.

There are, again, certain linguistic reasons which seem to indicate that this race migrated into India from the south at a very remote time, when possibly there still existed some land connection with Australia. It would appear that they gradually conquered the Mundas whom they found in occupation of the country. With these Mundas they intermarried and amalgamated; but they preserved their own Dravidian form of speech. In fact, what happened in their case was probably very similar to what occurred subsequently, as we shall see in the following chapters, in the case of the Aryan immigrants from the north-west. At the present day, the Dravidians form the prevailing population of

Southern India, but in the pre-historic age they must have been spread over some parts of Northern India as well. They inhabited everywhere the plains and valleys of the large rivers, which they had cleared of forest, and made fit for the cultivation of land and for the breeding of cattle. They lived in settled communities, under fixed laws and government. They possessed fortified strongholds as a protection against the raids of the surrounding wild tribes. They wore garments, used implements and weapons of copper, and put on ornaments of gold. Their religion included a phallic cult as well as the worship of snakes and trees, which things were at first repugnant to the Aryan invaders, though later on, when the latter amalgamated with the earlier inhabitants, they were admitted under the worship of Siva. It is probable that they carried on a brisk maritime trade to the Persian Gulf from the western shores of India, and that in connection with it, perhaps in the seventh century B.C., they invented the rudiments of the Indian system of writing. Most of these things we know from incidental statements in the Vedic hymns, which show that certain portions of the aboriginal inhabitants possessed a degree of civilization equal to, if not higher than, that of the Aryan tribes which invaded their country and conquered them. *Reli*

Besides the Dravidian, two other immigrations deserve some notice. These came into India from the north-east, but as they never penetrated into the country farther than the wild valleys of the Himalaya and its offshoots which form the north-eastern corner of India, they never exerted any influence on the course of its history, nor helped to mould its civilization, and a very brief notice, therefore, will suffice. The original home of these north-eastern immigrants is supposed to have been the country round the head-waters of the Yangtse-Kiang in China, whence they came down into Eastern India by the valley of the Brahmaputra. They did so

**North-eastern
Immigrations.**

in two successive waves. The first to come were the so-called Tibeto-Burman tribes which settled in the valley of Assam and in the hills of the eastern frontier down to Chittagong. They have their name from the fact that their main stream spread and settled outside India in Burma and Tibet. Their entrance into India lies far back, and its date is not exactly known. The second immigration, which is that of the Tai tribes, took place in comparatively modern times. These tribes, under the name of the Shans, settled in Eastern Burma and Siam in the sixth century A.D., but subsequently a small portion of them moved into Assam about 1228 A.D. There, after several hundred years of conflict with the Chutiyas and Kacharis, they finally succeeded, 1540 A.D., in establishing their rule. Their kingdom, known as that of the Ahoms, reached the height of its power towards the end of the seventeenth century ; but afterwards it fell a prey to internal troubles, which, early in 1825 A.D., led to its being annexed to the British dominions.

CHAPTER II

The Pre-Vedic Period : The Aryans in their Original Home.

Before 2000 B.C.

RESPECTING the original home of the Aryans two main theories have been held. The older of them places that home in Western Turkestan; the other, which **The Indo-Europeans.** has the support of a mass of anthropological and linguistic evidence, refers it to Southern Russia, or some other part of Europe. According to this theory, there lived, in pre-historic periods, a hardy race of nomads, probably in the extensive steppes of Southern Russia in Europe, along the banks of the river Volga. They were mainly a fair-skinned people, with well-shaped noses and handsome faces. They wandered from one pasturage to another with their flocks of cattle, goats and sheep, transporting their families and goods in light waggons drawn by horses. Rivers were crossed by them in boats cut out from the trunks of trees which grew along the banks. The milk and the flesh of their herds served as food, and of the skins they made for themselves simple garments, as well as of the hair or wool which they spun and wove in a primitive fashion. They also kept bees for the sake of the honey, from which they prepared an intoxicating drink called mead. They used implements of stone, and weapons of copper with which they defended themselves against the depredations of wolves and bears and other wild animals. While temporarily settled on a pasturage, they dwelt in huts made of wood and loam, or in cavities dug in the ground. At such times they raised small crops of barley and millet which they roasted and crushed to bake into cakes, and they also trafficked by barter with neigh-

bouring races for such things as their own steppes did not produce. The sky, the sun, the moon, the dawn, fire, wind, and thunder seemed to them gods ; and accordingly they feared and sought to propitiate them. They had no priests, but cunning men among them claimed by sorcery to control the gods and to heal diseases. Their men got for themselves wives by capture or purchase. The husband had an absolute right of sale or death over his wife and children ; and for the widow of a chief it was considered proper to die at the grave of her husband. They lived together, two or three generations in a joint-family. Several such families made up a clan, and several clans formed a tribe. From among the clan-lords, one was chosen chief or king of the tribe, to administer its common business, and above all to act as supreme commander in war.

In course of time the race multiplied to such an extent that the pasturage of the common area did not suffice for the needs of all the tribes. This may have been about four thousand years ago. So those tribes who lived on the borders of the area, made up their minds to seek new homes in other parts of the world. Those living on the western border went south-west into Europe and settled in England, France, Germany, Italy, Greece and elsewhere. But one large tribe which frequented the pasturages on the south-eastern border at the head of the Caspian Sea, and whose members called themselves Aryans, crossed the Ural river into Asia, and wandered south-east into the steppes of Western Turkestan between the Caspian Sea and the river Yaxartes or Sir Darya. Here the Aryans were settled for some considerable time.

**Dispersion of
the Indo-Euro-
peans.**

CHAPTER III.

The Vedic Period : The Aryans in the Punjab.

About 1800—1000 B.C.

AFTER a time, there arose among the Aryans, in their new home on the northern side of the Hindu Kush, a religious reformer, known by the name of Zoroaster.

**First Aryan
Immigration.**

A large portion of them, known as the Iranians, accepted the reform. This gradually caused such serious discord with the rest of the Aryans that the Iranians determined to separate. They crossed the mountain barrier, and wandered westward and settled in Iran, or Persia. Some time afterwards, another portion of the Aryans, who had not accepted Zoroaster's reform, also crossed the mountains. But these migrated southward into India, and, for that reason, are known as the Indo-Aryans. The separation of the Aryans, and their respective settlements, occurred at some time between the 18th and 16th centuries B. C. This we know from certain recently discovered cuneiform inscriptions. In India, the Indo-Aryans occupied the country on both sides of the Indus and as far as the Jumna, that is, Eastern Afghanistan and the Punjab. Within this new home, they remained settled for several centuries, probably down to about 1000 B. C. But it must not be supposed that the settlement was effected in the space of a few years or without any trouble. On the contrary, fierce fights took place with the aboriginal race that already occupied the country.

It has been explained, in Chapter I, that the aboriginal Dravidians were a comparatively civilized people. In this respect they were hardly inferior to the invading Aryans ; but the latter were a more hardy race, stronger

**Conflict with
the Dravidians.**

both physically and mentally. So it is no wonder that the Dravidian civilization was overwhelmed by that of the Aryans. The most striking evidences of this fact are that the Aryan language entirely ousted the Dravidian, and that the Dravidian people, though numerically far superior, were entirely subjected to the Aryan domination, and incorporated into the Aryan community, of which henceforth they formed the lowest or Sudra class. At the same time, the incorporation of such a numerous class could not but leave its mark on the physical constitution and the social organization of the Aryans. At the first contact with the aboriginal population, the distinction of colour was a marked feature. In the Vedas the Aborigines are described as *krishna* or dark, or as being of the *dasa-varna*, that is, the enemies' colour, in contrast to the *arya-varna*, or friends' (*i.e.*, fellow-clansmen's) colour, which was fair. But by the end of the Vedic period, the distinction of colour had practically disappeared. For though the word for colour (*varna*) survived as a general term for caste, it was no longer used as a mark for distinguishing one caste from another.

Caste, in the proper sense, as we shall see in Chapter IV, arose in the next period ;

Origin of Classes. but the necessities and vicissitudes of the Aryan migration led to the rise of "classes," which did not exist in the original European home. There, apart from differences in wealth, all the individual nomads were equals ; the only approach to a distinct class was made by the magician or sorcerer, who got his living not by cattle-breeding but by ministering to the religious instincts of his clansmen. But when the Aryan people, in the course of their wanderings, passed from the steppes into a country of mountains and forests, they had to exchange a nomadic life for that of the *vaisya*, or settler, whose occupation was to clear the forest and till the ground. Moreover, though to ward off raids at first every man had to be a warrior, yet when it came to regular fierce warfare with the Aborigines

of other countries, the necessity arose for a class of men who devoted themselves to the practice of arms. Being the fighters for, and the protectors of, the people, under the leadership of the *raja*, or chief, they came to occupy a privileged position as being the *rajanya*, or the chief men, *i.e.*, the nobles. A long course of successful wandering and warfare naturally led the Aryan to a higher conception of his gods, to whose favour he felt that he owed it. Out of mysterious powers to be feared, the gods grew to be, for him, personal and beneficent beings, worthy of receiving his *brahman*, that is, prayer and praise. Simultaneously the wizards of old grew up into a class of cultured Brahmans, whose business it was to compose hymns in praise of the gods and to sacrifice to them. Thus by the time the Aryans had effected their settlement in north-western India about 1000 B.C., they were divided into three classes, the *Rajanya*, *Brahmana*, and *Vaisya*, to which the subject Aborigines were added as a fourth class of *Sudras*. These classes, however, had not yet become castes; for the Brahmans, though very influential, were not yet the dominant class, nor was it impossible to pass from one class into another.

The high-water mark of the culture reached by the Indo-Aryans in the person of their Brahmans, is exhibited in the *Rigveda*. **The Rigveda.** This is a collection of upwards of a thousand skilfully composed hymns, mostly, though not exclusively, of a religious import. For that early age, their literary excellence is astonishing; few compositions comparable to them can be found among any other people. The collection must have been finished as early as 1000 B.C., and has since been handed down with scrupulous care and accuracy. Most of the hymns of the collection appear to have been composed in the extreme eastern portion of the area occupied by the Aryans, that is, not far from the right bank of the Jumna, in the district of Thanesar, south of Ambala, between the

two small rivers, the Sarsati and the Chitang. Hence this district was called the *Brahmavarta* or the home of the *Brahman*, i.e., of the Vedic Hymns of prayer and praise. It was also named *Kurukshetra*, that is, the land of the Kurus, who were one of the most distinguished tribes among the Aryans of India.

From the *Rigveda*, which is a contemporary work, we are able to gather a trustworthy account of the state of civilization of the Aryans between three and four thousand years ago. The following are some of the main features. Their social division into four classes has been already mentioned. As to their political organization, it remained practically unchanged, and consisted of tribes, clans, and joint-families. Though they were conscious of their unity in race, language and religion, there was no cohesion between the tribes, though for temporary purposes they readily formed confederations. Just as the government of the joint-family was patriarchal, so that of the tribe was monarchical. The king being once elected by the clans, the office generally became hereditary. His power, however, was limited by the will of the people expressed in the *Samiti* or tribal assembly. The settlements were villages, consisting of houses made of wood, with the domestic fire in the middle. There were no towns, though there were fortified enclosures on hill-tops, made of earth and stones, and stockaded. Ordinarily, however, these were not inhabited, but used only as places of refuge during raids or floods. In manners and customs we notice an advance in refinement. As to marriage, contract takes the place of capture or purchase; the wife occupies a position of greater honour in the household; when the husband dies, she is no longer expected to cremate herself with him. The commonest crime appears to have been cattle-lifting; and the commonest vice, gambling, and in connection therewith ruinous debts, and indulgence in *soma* and *sura*, two kinds of spirituous liquor. The chief articles of food were milk,

Aryan Civilization.

ghee, and grain of various kinds ; flesh, especially of bulls which had been sacrificed, was also eaten, but only on ceremonial occasions. The chief occupations were cattle-breeding and agriculture, and at certain times, of course, warfare. The first of these was their principal source of wealth ; accordingly the cow enjoyed an almost sacred veneration. As to industries, such as those of the carpenter, smith, potter, and tanner, they were only just beginning to arise ; for, as a rule, every household supplied its own needs, especially by weaving clothes, and making utensils of clay, wood or metal. There existed much trade in the form of barter. In this the cow formed the measure of value ; though payment was often made in gold ornaments and jewelry. Silver was not known, but copper and perhaps iron were. Of these latter metals the implements of agriculture were made as well as the weapons of war—ploughs, spears and axes. But the principal weapon was the bow and arrow. In war-time the leading warriors went to battle in chariots, protected by coats of mail and helmets, but never on horseback. In times of peace the chariot was used for racing. This was a favourite amusement, as well as dancing in the open air, and music performed on the drum, the flute, and the lute. The religious beliefs were undergoing a change. Some of the earlier gods were fading away, and others were coming into prominence. As a natural consequence of their life of migration and warfare, Indra, the god of battles, is now the favourite and national god. Other chief gods are Varuna, the god of law and order, the Maruts or storm-gods, and especially Agni (fire) and Soma (a certain plant), the gods of the great Fire and *Soma* sacrifices. Vishnu and Siva are hardly yet known ; nor do any images or temples seem to have existed. The gods had each a distinctive attribute ; but they had several attributes also in common. When the hymns were composed, these *general* attributes were uppermost in the mind of the poet, and so people conceived the idea that the many gods they

adored were but the various aspects of One Divine Being who was present in every part of the universe. Here we see the first beginnings of that philosophic thought which was so greatly developed in the next period, and which has ever distinguished the Aryans of India.

CHAPTER IV.

The Brahmanic Period : The United Indo-Aryans in Northern India.

About 1000—550 B.C.

IN the preceding chapter we have seen the Aryans fully established in the Punjab down to about 1000 B.C. It was about this time that an event occurred which not only led to a further extension of the Aryan occupation of India, but also produced those great changes in the physical appearance and the social organization of the Aryans which transformed them into the Indo-Aryans, and, apart from their language, render them so thoroughly distinct from their kinsfolk dwelling in Europe.

Introductory
Remarks.

This event, as the linguistic and ethnic conditions of India seem to indicate, was a second irruption of Aryans into India. Of the Aryan stock which remained behind in the mountainous regions of Western Turkestan just north of the Hindu Kush, another portion appears gradually to have migrated directly south into the Punjab, through the passes of Chitral and Swat. In the course of this migration it absorbed most of the aboriginal population of those parts, and in doing so adopted some of its peculiar practices. Among these may be specially mentioned polyandry and witchcraft, as testified by the *Mahabharata* and the *Atharva Veda*. In the plains of the Punjab, the new-comers came into contact with the earlier settlers; and a sharp struggle for the possession of the country ensued between them. The former worked themselves into the midst of the latter like a wedge, forcing them to spread out further in all direc-

Second Aryan
Immigration.

tions, especially, at first, towards the east, along the valleys of the Jumna and the Ganges, and later also across the Vindhya Range into the valley of the Narbada. The ultimate result, however, of the conflict was that the two contending parties, together with their allies among the aboriginal races, were welded into one people, with new physical characteristics as well as a new and unique civilization, which is known as Brahmanic. All this had come to pass by about 500 B.C.

In the period of conflict one of the most important of the contending tribes was that of the Bharatas, to which the Kurus, or Kauravas, belonged. From this circumstance the great epic, known as the *Mahabharata*, that is, the Great Battle of the Descendants of Bharata, takes its name; hence, also, India as the home of the united parties, is known as *Bharatavarsha* or the land of the Bharatas. A reminiscence of the conflict is preserved in the *Rigveda*. Some of its hymns speak of a great battle—in which the Bharatas took a prominent part—as having occurred on the banks of the Ravi, between King Sudas and a confederacy of ten kings. In the *Mahabharata*, another great battle is described as having lasted eighteen days near the banks of the Jumna, and as having been fought between Yudhishthira, king of the Pandavas, and one hundred Kaurava princes. The former with their polyandric customs represent the new-comers, while the Kauravas are the earlier settlers; and it may be that the initial stage of their conflict is described in the *Rigveda*, while the *Mahabharata* has preserved a tradition of its final stage, which resulted in the formation of the united Indo-Aryan people. In any case, the fact that both contending parties are represented as having been Bharatas, shows that the conflict was one between two branches of the same Aryan stock. The story of the conflict itself is very ancient, but in the *Mahabharata*, which was composed in the subsequent period (500 B.C.—

500 A.D.), history is treated poetically. Two points, however, we can clearly discern from it: the growth of a common national feeling, and the rise of large monarchical states.

We find mention of aboriginal tribes fighting side by side with the Aryans as friends and brothers. The old Vedic terms of *krishna* or dark and *dasa-varna* or enemy-colour, which the fair-skinned Aryans contemptuously applied to the aboriginal races, are disappearing. The Aryans and Aborigines are merging into each other, and becoming the Indo-Aryan people—one in national feeling as well as in outward appearance.

Side by side with this evolution, we observe a growth in political organization. The small tribal communities of the Vedic period are now crystallizing into larger territorial states, which give place, as we shall see in the next period, to far-reaching empires. These states possess regular capital cities, and are ruled by *Maharajas* or Great Kings, instead of, as hitherto, by mere *Rajas* or Chiefs. Thus we find a confederate kingdom of Panchala or the five cities, in the middle of Northern India, in what are now the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. Some of its capital cities were Kanyakubja (or Kanauj), Kausambi and Mathura, the Chief of the last of which was Krishna, who afterwards, for some reason no longer ascertainable, came to be deified as an incarnation of Vishnu. To the east, Panchala was bordered by the kingdom of Kosala, the modern Oudh, with its capital at Ayodhya, and, further on, the republic of Vaisali, forming a curious exception to the general monarchical organization. In Kosala once reigned the famous king Dasaratha, and his still more famous son Rama, who also afterwards came to be deified as another incarnation of Vishnu. His victorious march through Southern India to the conquest of Ceylon, poetically described, forms the other great Indian epic, called the *Ramayana*.

The Indo-Aryan
People

Formation of
States.

Still further to the east two more kingdoms arose; those of Videha and Magadha, the modern North and South Bihar. The former is famous through its great king Janaka, the father of Sita, who was the queen of Rama and the heroine of the *Ramayana*. With Magadha was joined the kingdom of Chedi, or the country round Jabalpur and Bilaspur, under the great king Jarasandha, who is a prominent figure in the great conflict of the two Aryan branches. Further south-west came the kingdoms of Nishadha and Vidarbha, on the two sides of the Narbada in Central India, roughly corresponding to Southern Malwa and Berar. They are the scene of the beautiful *Nalopakhyaṇa*, the epic tale which narrates the fortunes of Nala, king of Nishadha, and his consort Damayanti, the daughter of the king of Vidarbha. Numerous legendary stories of this kind have survived in the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*, but of the real history of those kingdoms we know practically no more than their names, and the fact that they were formed, partly by conquest, but probably more so by peaceful colonization in which the forceful Aryans prevailed. Everywhere the latter constituted the ruling class, and their language and civilization superseded everything that existed before.

The form of government in these states was autocratic. The king's power was not limited by any assembly either of the whole people or of the ruling class. He kept a council of ministers and a staff of officers, but they held office at his pleasure. His rule was benevolent or tyrannous, according as his character was good or bad, strong or weak, observant of law and custom or the reverse. There was no lack of warfare, but it generally took place on the borders; it was the business of the king, and of the ruling military caste and their mercenaries. The ordinary population was considered neutral by both sides, and, on the whole, was allowed to live in the undisturbed pursuit of agriculture, trade, and industry.

**Political and
Economic Con-
dition.**

The whole population was practically divided into two classes. One was the ruling class, consisting of the martial Kshatriya and the learned Brahmana castes. Both were exempted from the payment of taxes, and ordinarily the king and the government of the country belonged to the former. The other, which was the subordinate class, was constituted of what were collectively called the Vaisya and Sudra caste, that is of the numerous castes into which the peasants, merchants, craftsmen and labourers of every kind were divided. They had to pay taxes for the cost of wars, and for the upkeep of the king's court and the government, but, on the other hand, they were exempted from military service, and were allowed the peaceful pursuit of their daily business, and, in many cases, the accumulation of much wealth.

It was especially in the central part of Northern India that the conditions above described prevailed; that is in that part which embraces most of the present United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. This is the *Madhya-desa* or Mid-land, which was celebrated as the centre and nursery of Brahmanism. It was undoubtedly that part of India which was most thoroughly aryanized; where the Brahmanic civilization developed; and whence it gradually spread over the whole of India. The most striking feature of this Brahmanic civilization is its system of caste. The history of its origin has been always, even in ancient times, a matter of much speculation. In the previous chapter we have seen how the vicissitudes of the Aryan immigration into India tended to divide the people into four classes. Among these a very influential position was naturally held by the Brahmans, that is, by those who possessed the *brahman* or religious lore, and performed the sacrifices, on which, for the Kshatriya or martial class, success in war, and for the ordinary population, prosperity in agriculture, pasture, and industry was believed to depend. With the increasing

The System of Caste.

complexity of the political and economic conditions, this feeling of dependence on the Brahmans naturally became increasingly strong. At the same time, as with the expansion of the Aryan occupation of India the absorption of aboriginal people into the Aryan community grew larger, the desire of the ruling class, that is, of the Brahmans and Kshatriyas, grew stronger to preserve the purity of their Aryan descent through the prevention of intermarriage and social contact ; and this policy, of necessity, tended to make each class a hereditary institution. Thus the combined action of the feeling of dependence and the principle of heredity (*jati*), resulted eventually in the establishment of that system of caste, in which the Brahmans are supreme, and all classes are divided from one another by the insuperable barrier of birth and the prohibition of intermarrying and eating together. It is probable that it was the Brahman class who first succeeded in forming themselves into an exclusive caste ; but the example of such an influential class naturally proved infectious, and thus their policy filtered downwards through all classes, till finally it embraced the whole Indo-Aryan community, including the aboriginal elements incorporated in it. It is not fair to say that the pride and self-interest of the Brahmans caused them to build up the caste system. The Brahmans are no more responsible for it than any of the other classes, except in so far as they may have originally set the example. Being the only class with literary culture, they systematized the process which was going on all around them, and recorded it in their books of religion and law. As a matter of fact, their systematized theory of four castes does not agree with the reality. Though the divisions of the ruling class, the Brahmans and the Kshatriyas, especially the former, are real castes, the two divisions of the ordinary population into Vaisyas and Sudras are only theoretic abstractions. As to that population the truth is that it consists of a very large number of real castes, which are based on

grounds of race and occupation, and enjoy varying degrees of social rank.

Simultaneously with caste, there grew up the other institution of *asrama* or the methodical division of one's life. It was to consist of four stages: (1) study (*brahmacharya*) in one's youth, (2) founding a household and exercising a profession (*grihastha*) in manhood, and (3) meditation either as a settled recluse (*vanaprastha*), or (4) as a houseless wanderer (*samnyasin*) in old age. This institution had a somewhat similar history to that of caste. Started by the Brahmans, it was more or less copied by the other castes: but it never obtained the same absolute hold, as caste did, on the imagination and practice of the people.

The Institution of Asrama.

It was a natural consequence of the priestly function of the Brahman class that literary culture first grew up among them. It was their duty to preserve the ancient hymns without which no sacrifices could be offered. To this end they made a *Samhita* or collection of all the *Rich* or Vedic verses then known to exist, and this collection is known as the *Rigveda*. Further, as the verses were used in different sacrifices for which different rituals were wanted, they sorted the hymns so as to form three different *Samhitas* or collections. Thus arose the collection of *Yajus* or sacrificial formulas called *Yajurveda*, and the collection of *Saman* or sacrificial chants called *Samaveda*. Later on, there was added a fourth collection of *Atharvan* or incantations, called *Atharvaveda*. Moreover, since the ancient Vedic hymns were by this time becoming unintelligible, the Brahmans were obliged to spend much labour and ingenuity in explaining them. Thus there grew up a number of theological works, under the name of *Brahmana*. Again, the constant occupation of the Brahmans with religious matters, naturally disposed them to pursue speculations regarding the nature of God and the World, and the

Literature.

relation of these to each other. This study gave rise to the theosophical and philosophical treatises, known as the *Aranyaka* and *Upanishad*.

The growth of the Brahmanic literature was accompanied by a growth of Brahmanic religion and religious practices. The crude polytheism of the Vedic period gradually assumed a monotheistic aspect. The chief gods of that period, Indra and Varuna, sank into the lower position of the subordinate gods of the sky and the sea; and Brahma rose into prominence as the Supreme God who is the *Prajapati* or Lord of the Creation. Later on, there developed a great division of the people into Vaishnavas and Saivas, according as either Vishnu or Siva, both originally Vedic deities, were adopted as the Supreme God. But practically this division only represents two different views of the same religion—one more tender and refined, the other more coarse and passionate; and this fact is typified in the so-called Indian Trinity of Brahma, Vishnu and Siva, that is, the Supreme God in his three manifestations of Creator, Preserver, and Destroyer. The Saiva form of the Brahmanic religion, however, more distinctly preserves traces of the incorporation of aboriginal beliefs in the worship of the *Linga* and the reverence paid to the snake. As to the exercise of this religion, whether Vaishnava or Saiva, it consisted in the mere mechanical performance of elaborate sacrifices, or of *Yoga*, that is, asceticism, of various grades of severity. In either case, the principal object of the worshipper or the ascetic was to secure from his God some worldly advantage.

By the side, however, of this prevailing ritual or practical view of religion (*karma-khanda*) there always existed among the more spiritual members of the Indo-Aryan community a speculative view of it (*jnana-khanda*). For them the aim was, not the attainment of earthly happiness, but the release from mundane existence by

Popular Religion.

Philosophic Pantheism.

the absorption of the individual soul into the *Atman* or World-soul, and this absorption was to be attained by means of *jnana*, or correct knowledge, of the nature of things. This, and not sacrifice, they maintained, was the *Vedanta*, that is, the real end or aim of the Veda. This was the view of the few, the pious and thoughtful, who, abandoning the performance of sacrifices, often retired from the world to live as recluses in the forest. They held that the visible world was nothing but an illusion (*maya*) of the ignorant, that in reality there existed but One (*atman*) who was All in All; and that the attainment of this conviction (*jnana*) led to the true deliverance (*moksha*). Accordingly they advised a life of contemplation; for a life of action (*karma*), as it tended to keep a man in a state of ignorance, could not result in his deliverance from misery, but only in a continuous series of re-births, more or less full of misery according as his good or bad actions had preponderated. This is the famous Brahmanic doctrine of transmigration (*samsara*) and its cause (*karma*), which gradually became so firmly established in the whole Indo-Aryan community that, as we shall see in the next chapter, it was accepted by Buddha without question, and included by him in the fundamental tenets of his religion.

CHAPTER V.

The Early Buddhist Period :

**The Greek Invasion, the First (or Maurya) Empire, and
the Rise of Buddhism.**

About 550—150 B.C.

THE preceding chapter has shown us that, during the Brahmanic period, the Indo-Aryan occupation of India had extended to the borders of Bengal and the valley of the Narbada. In the period we are now considering it spread still further to the east over Bengal, and to the south over the whole of the Deccan and as far as Ceylon. It was, however, in the main, not an occupation by armed conquest, but a peaceful subjection of the whole of India to the morally and intellectually more powerful Indo-Aryan civilization. The only parts which formed an exception were the wilder regions of Central India. Here the aboriginal inhabitants remained in their ancient savage condition. Also in the kingdoms of the east coast and the south, such as those of the Andhras, Cholas, Keralas, and Pandyas, which correspond to a part of Haidarabad and to Madras, Mysore and Travancore, though the Brahmanic laws and customs prevailed, the government remained in the hands of the Dravidians, and their languages (Telugu, Tamil, and others) maintained their ground.

The spread of the Brahmanic civilization was much assisted by the fact that gradually nearly the whole of India came under one political rule. We have seen how, in the preceding period, a large number of states arose of varying sizes. Gradually one state among them be-

**Introductory
Remarks.**

**The Kingdom
of Magadha.**

came the most powerful and brought under its subjection the weaker states on its borders. The process, once begun, went on in ever widening circles, till at last a great empire was formed which embraced nearly the whole of India. It extended from beyond the Indus to the mouth of the Ganges, and from the Himalayas down to modern Mysore, where it adjoined the Dravidian kingdoms of the Cholas, Keralas and Pandyas. This was the First Indian Empire, and the nucleus from which it grew up was the kingdom of Magadha or South Bihar. At the beginning of this period, that kingdom was ruled by a Kshatriya dynasty, called Saisunaga, the fifth king of which was Bimbisara, a contemporary of Buddha of whom some account will be given presently. He ascended the throne about 543 B.C., and his capital was Rajagriha. He was murdered by his son Ajatasatru, who succeeded him about 491 B.C. This king was a strong and aggressive ruler, and it was he who made a beginning of the empire by conquering the two neighbouring states, the great kingdom of Kosala and the republic of Vaisali. To enable him to do so, he built the strong fort of Pataliputra, near the site of the present Patna. His grandson Udayin, about 459 B.C., raised a city round it, and made it the royal residence. Thenceforth it remained for many centuries the capital of the empire. With Udayin's successors (about 426-371 B.C.) the Kshatriya dynasty appears to have come to an end. The history of its extinction is very obscure; but one thing is certain, that the Nanda dynasty (about 371-321 B.C.), which now came to rule the empire, belonged to the Sudra caste. We know this from the Greek historians of Alexander's invasion of India, which took place towards the end of the Nanda rule.

To that celebrated invasion we must now turn our attention. From the inscriptions of Darius Hystaspis, the Achemenian king of Persia, we know that he extended his empire as far as the Indus. This appears to have

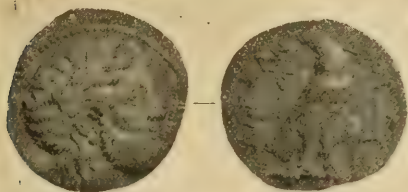
Alexander's Invasion of India.

happened about 512 B.C. The province, or satrapy of the Indus Valley was considered the richest and most populous possession of the Persian empire. It was, no doubt, this part which induced Alexander the Great, after he had overthrown the Persian empire; to attempt to push the limits of his own Macedonian empire still farther into India.

He crossed the Indus in the spring of 326 B.C. at Ohind, not far north of the modern Attock. The country between the Indus and Jehlum peacefully submitted. There the Greeks, for the first time, saw the Brahman Yogis, whose ascetic practices and strange doctrines caused them much astonishment. Between the Jehlum and the Chenab lay the country of the Pauravas. Their king, called Poros by the Greeks, was the first to offer a stout resistance to the invader; but he was totally defeated in a great battle, fought at Jehlum, on the left bank of the river of the same name. After this victory, Alexander met with no serious opposition, till he reached the fortified town of Sangala, probably not far from Amritsar. This was the capital of the Kathaeans, or Kathis as they are now called, who formed a kind of republic. With some difficulty the town was captured, after which Alexander continued his march eastward to the right bank of the Bias. Here his further progress towards the Ganges was arrested through the opposition of his own Macedonian troops. They had heard of the existence of a formidable "Eastern" power, which was preparing to bar their progress. This was the Magadha empire of the Nandas. So, being already worn out with the fatigues of a long campaign and the hardships of the Indian climate, they refused to march any farther. Alexander, after fruitless attempts to turn them from their purpose, was obliged to retrace his steps to the Jehlum. There he embarked on a fleet and sailed down to the mouth of the Indus. On the way he captured the fortified capital of the Malloi, or Malava, tribe, somewhere north-east of

Multan, and subdued the principalities on both sides of the old course of the Lower Indus.* Thus he had now completed the conquest of Sindh as well as of the Punjab. In order to secure his hold on these two provinces, he found-

ed several new cities, or rather fortified Greek settlements—among them Nicaea, Alexandria, and Patala, in the upper and lower Punjab, and in Sindh respectively.



Indian Silver Coin of Alexander.

Having thus, as he thought, firmly established his conquests, he marched back to Persia. But his expectations were not realized. On the civilization of India, his invasion left practically no mark; for whatever foreign element there appears in the institutions or manners of the succeeding Mauryan empire, such as the title of Satrap (*Kshatrapa*), is Persian rather than Greek. Politically, at any rate, his conquest did not endure.

Poros had been taken prisoner in the great battle on the Jehlum; but Alexander, who admired his personal bravery, had appointed him civil administrator in the Punjab

The Maurya Empire.

under the Greek Governor Philip. In 323 B.C., Poros was treacherously slain by Philip's successor, Eudemos. This murder provoked a national revolt, which was headed by a young adventurer, called Chandra Gupta Maurya. He succeeded in putting an end to the Greek domination, and in making himself the ruler of the Punjab and Sindh. He was a native of Magadha, and

*The old course of the Indus and its tributaries is shown on Map II. The present course and coast-line are indicated by dotted lines.

a distant connection of the Nanda dynasty ; but having quarrelled with his royal relatives, he had been obliged to flee for safety to Greek territory. Having now expelled the Greeks and acquired some power, he determined to revenge himself and conquer the kingdom of Magadha. In this enterprise he easily succeeded ; for the Nandas were detested on account of their tyranny. In 321 B.C., he captured the capital Pataliputra, and deposing the Nandas, he became the founder of the famous Maurya dynasty. Soon afterwards, about 305 B.C., the Greeks under Seleukos, known as Nikator or the Conqueror, who had succeeded to the eastern portion of



Asoka's Column.

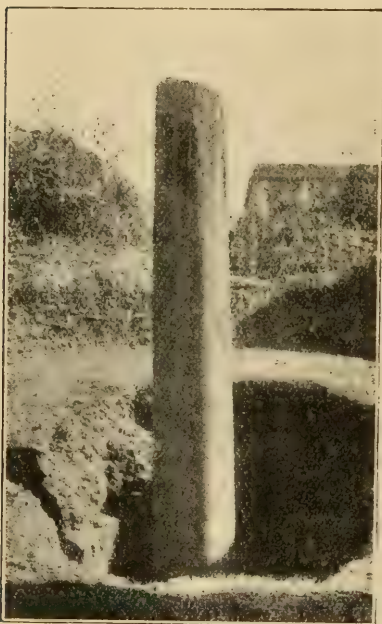
Alexander's empire, made an attempt to reconquer the lost provinces on the Indus. But the attempt utterly failed, and the result was that Seleukos had to cede to Chandra Gupta not only the Punjab and Sindh, but also Eastern Afghanistan. Fortified by this success, Chandra Gupta proceeded to reduce to vassalage the greater part of India. We do not know the details of his campaigns, but the result was, that he built up the First Empire of India, which eventually equalled in

extent the present British Indian Empire, excluding Burma. It reached its greatest size in the time of his grandson, Asoka, who added the east coast to the empire

by the conquest of the kingdom of Kalinga, that is, Orissa and the Circars. Asoka had the habit of causing his "Edicts," as they are called, to be engraved on boulders, or on columns of stone, or in caves, all over the empire. Many of these still exist, and are witnesses to the wide extent of the Maurya Empire. They are found on the right side of the Indus, in the middle of Mysore, on the east coast near Ganjam, and in the Nepalese Terai, north of Basti. They prove that the Maurya Empire embraced the whole of India, approximately down to Madras, as well as Eastern Afghanistan.

Asoka ascended the throne in 272 B.C., but, apparently his succession being disputed by an elder brother, he was not formally crowned till four years later. He began his rule in the spirit of his grandfather, Chandra Gupta, by the conquest of Kalinga. But the horrors of that war, and the admonitions of Buddhist monks made such an impression on his mind as to cause an entire change of character. He even went, towards the end of his reign, so far as to become a Buddhist monk. He also now adopted the new name Piyadassi, or the Gracious, by which he calls himself in his Edicts. For the remainder of his reign, which is said to have lasted altogether 41 years (272-231 B.C.), he became one of the most beneficent rulers that India has seen. His Edicts give us a vivid picture of the care which he bestowed on the administration of his empire. He planted trees along the roads, dug wells and canals for irrigation, built rest-houses for travellers and hospitals for the sick, and held regular assemblies at intervals of three or five years for the proper instruction of his officials. He maintained a special staff of high officers to watch over the interests of the poor and the aged, to mitigate the severity of the criminal laws, and to restrain the excessive destruction of animal life. With regard to the last point he set a personal example by abolishing the

customary royal hunting parties and replacing them by pilgrimages. In one of these pilgrimages, twenty years after his coronation, he visited the birthplace of Buddha at Rummin Dei in the Nepalese Terai, and there set up, in commemoration of his visit, an inscribed stone pillar, which still exists, to mark the spot where Buddha was born. The propagation of Buddhism was a particular object of his solicitude. He sent missionaries not only



View of Rummin Dei and the Asoka Column.

into the remoter parts of his empire, such as Gujarat, Afghanistan, Kashmir and Nepal, but also into the independent kingdoms of South India, and to Ceylon. In the latter country, Asoka's son, or, according to another tradition, his younger brother, Mahendra, is said to have introduced Buddhism. It is not improbable that but for Asoka's missionary efforts, Buddhism would never have spread much beyond the limits of Magadha, nor have become one of the most wide-spread religions of the world.

**Asoka's
Successors.**

Asoka's excellent policy appears to have been continued by his grandson, Dasaratha. This we may perhaps conclude from his inscriptions that still exist carved on the

walls of the Nagarjuni Caves near Gaya, which he caused to be constructed for the benefit of the Ajivika (a sect of Jain) monks. But after him the dynasty rapidly declined, and after another three or four feeble reigns, Brihadratha, the last of the Mauryas, was dethroned by his rebellious general, Pushyamitra, who founded the Sunga dynasty. This happened about 185 B.C.

A point of particular interest with regard to Asoka is that in the 13th of his Rock-edicts, he names five Greek kings as contemporaries of himself. One of them is Antiochus Theos, king of Syria, who was a grandson of Seleukos Nikator, the contemporary of Asoka's grandfather, Chandra Gupta. It is this double synchronism which has enabled us, with the help of the Greek dates which are well-known, to fix, in the otherwise undated history of ancient India, a central date from which we can calculate approximately, backwards and forwards, the dates of many other important events.

**Dates of Ancient
Indian History.**

The foundation of the First Indian Empire of the Mauryas was only one of the two great events of this period. The other was the rise of the two great monastic systems known as Buddhism and Jainism. It has

**The Rise of
Buddhism and
Jainism.**

already been shown in the account of the preceding period that there existed small groups of men who, dissatisfied with the popular religion of polytheism and sacrifice, had withdrawn from the world to devote themselves to a monastic life of religious speculation. Such speculation was at first closely connected with the study of the Vedas. Hence, naturally, the men who adopted the monastic life were mostly drawn from the Brahman caste who were the guardians of the Vedic lore. But as yet they lived by themselves or in small independent groups. There was no general organization or "Order" to which all these Brahmanic monks belonged. The innovation, introduced by the founders of Buddhism and Jainism, consisted just in these two points: that they

organized all their followers into a regular Society or Order, and that, being Kshatriyas themselves, they drew their followers mainly from the Kshatriya and the other non-Brahmanic classes of the people. They did not refuse to admit Brahmans into their Order, but within it they rejected all Brahmanic pretensions to superiority. This policy, no doubt, produced a certain degree of antagonism between their Societies and the general brahmanically constituted community around them. But it is quite erroneous to look upon them as revolts against the tyranny of caste. They never thought of rejecting the system of caste as a regulating factor of the general community outside their own Order.

Siddhartha—better known as Gautama—the founder of Buddhism, and Mahavira the founder of Jainism, were scions of princely houses.

They were contemporaries, though Mahavira was somewhat older than Gautama and died some years before him, about 490 B.C., at the age of seventy-two. Gautama died, eighty years old, about 483 B.C. Not much is known of Mahavira's personal history. He belonged to the Naya or Nata clan of Kshatriyas, who were settled near the large town of Vaisali, said to be represented by the village of Besarh, about twenty-seven miles north of Patna. That town was the capital of a small oligarchical republic, and Mahavira was the younger son of one of its ruling *Rajas* or chiefs. At the age of thirty he retired from the world, and joined a small monastic community of Parsvanath which lived near Vaisali. From this Society, however, he separated after two years, in order to establish another of his own with more stringent rules of conduct. In a long wandering life of forty-two years he succeeded in gathering a considerable following of monks in the principal towns of North and South Bihar. At first they were known as the *Nirgranthas*, or men who have discarded all social bonds; but after Mahavira's death, when they spread over the whole of India, they became known as

ཡོད་པའི་ཆོས་ལུགས་ཀྱི་སྐུ་མཆོག་གི་
 རྒྱུ་རྐྱེན་ལྟར་དུ་འཕྲུལ་བའི་
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 རྒྱལ་པོ་ལྟ་བུ་ལྟར་དུ་འཕྲུལ་བའི་

Asoka Inscription on the Column at
Rummin Dei.

the Jains. Under that name they still exist in various parts of India. Mahavira claimed to be a *Jina* or Spiritual Conqueror, just as Gautama claimed to be a *Buddha*, or an Enlightened One. Hence their respective followers are known as the Jains and the Bauddhas or Buddhists.

Gautama belonged to the Sakyas, one of the proudest of the Kshatriya clans. This clan was settled in a small territory **Life of Buddha.** between the upper Rapti and the Gandak. Its capital was Kapilavastu, which stood on the site of the present village of Piprahva, in the north-eastern corner of the Basti district in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. The actual spot where Gautama was born was the Lumbini Park, about six miles north-east of Kapilavastu, in the Nepalese Terai. It is now called Rummin Dei, and is marked by a still-existing, inscribed column erected by Asoka. He was born as the eldest son of Suddhodana, the *Raja* or chief of the Sakya clan. As heir to the chieftainship and the son of a wealthy family, he was provided with everything that man could wish to make him happy. But Gautama was naturally of an observant and thoughtful disposition. The sight of so much decay and suffering around him excited his compassion, and set him thinking how the ills of life might be cured. He cared more for meditation in solitude, than for the youthful sports of his princely companions. His father, who was afraid of his monkish predilections, married him to a fair and loving Sakya princess ; but this bond had no permanent

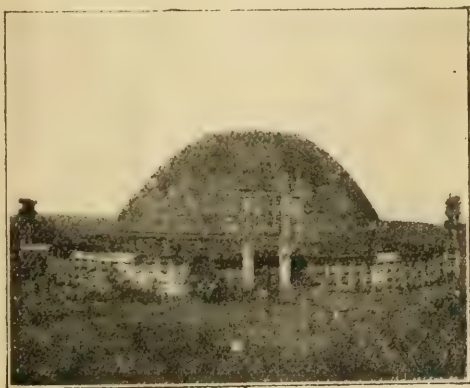
effect on Gautama. When he was twenty-nine years old—soon after a son had been born to him, and thus the succession had been secured—he finally resolved, in spite of the tears and entreaties of wife and father, to renounce his position and his home, and to adopt a monk's vocation. He went to North Bihar, where he attached himself successively to two Brahman ascetics renowned for their wisdom. Their teaching, however, did not satisfy him ; and now he commenced a seven years' life of wandering and severe asceticism, in the hope of discovering the truth regarding the cure of the ills of life. His austerities gradually reduced him almost to a skeleton, and brought him to death's door. But they did not give him the knowledge he sought, and the conviction was forced on him that he was on a false track ; so he returned to a reasonable mode of life. Then at the end of the seventh year, when he was thirty-six years old, one night as he sat under a pipal



Buddha under the Tree.
(From an ancient sculpture)

tree in the neighbourhood of Gaya, absorbed in solitary meditation, there suddenly came to him, like a revelation, the solution of his problem. We shall see presently what that solution was. In the meantime, let us follow him, as overjoyed by his discovery he rose up, took food and drink, and spent a month in the recovery of his strength. Then he set out to proclaim to the world the great revelation which he had received. But before doing so, he had to overcome a great temptation, suggested, as he thought, by Mara, or the Evil One. The exaltation caused by his discovery was naturally followed by a reaction of despondency and doubt as to whether he should ever be able to persuade his fellowmen of its

reality. But with his returning bodily strength, the temptation gave way to an abiding confidence in the success of his missionary enterprise. The first place which he visited was Benares. Here he secured his first disciples, and founded his Society, or "Order" of monks. Thence he wandered up and down the country, from town to town, and village to village, through the whole of South and north Bihar, and as far as his native Sakya country. In this way he went on for forty-four years, wandering and preaching; and his Order grew apace in numbers. At last he died, eighty years old, in Kusinagara about 483 B.C. His body was cremated with much ceremony, and his relics were distributed among his adherents. His princely Sakya relatives carried their share—a few bits of bone—to Kapilavastu, where they enclosed it in a stone box, and built over it a huge *stupa* or pyramidal monument. This is the Piprahva Stupa, the ruins of which still exist, and there Buddha's bones have recently been brought to light in their stone box.



View of the oldest Stupa at Sanchi.

But what was Buddha's great discovery? We shall try briefly to explain it. We have seen how sensitive

**Buddha's
Doctrine.**

Gautama was to the misery which he saw everywhere around him; the labour and oppression of the poor, the rivalries and disappointments of the rich; sickness, old age and death for all. It was not merely the physical suffering that moved him, but even more the mental suffering of men. "Whence comes all this misery?" he asked himself; and his reply was: "All men strive after an enjoyable life, and in the universal struggle for it they cannot but hurt one another; no one can secure the good things of this world but at the expense of others; hence comes the general misery." "But how can this evil be remedied?" So Gautama asked next. Several replies were possible. The ordinary man said: "Death will end man's misery and bring him peace." "Not so," objected Buddha, "for there is the transmigration of souls caused by *karmā*, or the acts, good or bad, of one's life. When a man dies, he is only re-born into another life of misery; and so onwards without end." Here comes in that belief in transmigration which had grown up in the preceding period, and in which Gautama as firmly believed as did all his contemporaries. But there was another reply given by the Brahmanical monks. They said that a man's misery is caused only by his ignorance. If he once comes to understand that the whole visible world is but an illusion, and that he himself is really one with God or the World-Soul who exists in perfect happiness, then his misery disappears. This is the reply which Gautama received from the two Brahmanical teachers to whom he first applied for enlightenment. It did not satisfy him; it seemed to him rather a mockery. For whatever he might *think* about the reality of the world, he could not help *feeling* the reality of the misery of life. So Gautama went in search of a truer reply. At last he found one; and it was a very simple reply. It was this: "Seeing that the misery of life is caused by man's striving after the good things of this life, let him give up that striving, and then he will have

peace." Gautama tried this remedy in his own case, and he found that it was true. He knew the secret of deliverance. He now was *Buddha*, that is, "enlightened." But there still remained a fourth question: "How is man to give up the striving after the good things of life?" Buddha replied: "He can do so by self-discipline; he must train himself to it by being right in the following eight points:—In belief and desire, in speech and act, in life and work, in feeling and thought." In short, there is enough in the world to satisfy all; therefore, let a man exercise self-denial, contentment, and consideration for others. Living thus, he will attain peace," or *Nirvana*, as Buddha called it. It will thus be seen that Buddha's system was a thoroughly practical one; not one of religion, but of morality. It was summed up by him in the so-called "Four Truths," and the "Eightfold Path," above explained. No doubt, his system had also under its surface deeper thoughts which were summed up in the so-called "Chain of Twelve Causes." But this philosophy was taught by him only to his more advanced disciples, and it need not detain us here. It will now be understood that Buddha did not mean to teach a new religion in opposition to the prevailing popular Brahmanism. What he wanted to do was to found a Society of men who should take a vow to practise a righteous life, such as he conceived it. That character of a Monastic Order his Society retained in India for many centuries. Gradually, as his teaching spread to peoples who were not Indians, a kind of deification of Buddha sprang up, and his system turned into a popular religion. This, however, is a development which took place in the succeeding period, as will be explained in Chapter VI.

Up to the time of Asoka the Buddhist Order was practically confined to Bihar, outside of which Brahmanism prevailed. But through the missionary efforts of Asoka, after his conversion to Buddhism, the latter faith spread

Sanskrit
Language.

over the whole of India. A few words may be said here regarding the condition of Indian civilization under the Brahmanic influence. One of the most striking points is the rise of Sanskrit as a literary language, distinct from the older language of the Vedas, and the upgrowth of a Sanskrit Literature. We have seen in the preceding period that the study of the Vedas was the special function of the Brahmins. Now, the Vedas could not be studied without a knowledge of grammar. Thus teachers of grammar arose in the Brahmanic schools, who laid down rules as to what was to be considered the correct form of their language. The most successful among these teachers was a grammarian named Panini, who probably lived about 350 B.C. He wrote a text-book, called the *Ashtadhyayi*, that is, the book of eight chapters. It superseded all other text-books on grammar, and thenceforth no book was considered as written in Sanskrit, that is, in "refined" or "correct" language, unless it conformed to his rules. For some centuries, however, Sanskrit remained the exclusive property of the Brahmanic schools. Outside these schools, in the king's offices, and in the schools of the Buddhist and Jain monastic Orders, the language spoken by the people of the country was used for literary purposes. Thus most of the Edicts of Asoka are written in the popular language of Magadha, commonly called Pali or Prakrit. So also are the early Sacred Books of the Buddhists and the Jains. It was only in the course of the next period that Sanskrit was generally adopted as the language of all public and private records.

Though the art of writing, as we shall see, was not unknown in this period, it was not yet admitted as a means of instruction in the Brahmanic schools. Everything was done by memory. But by this time the details in ritual and custom, preserved in the *Brahmanas* and in floating tradition, had grown to such enormous dimensions, that memory, unaided, was unequal to the task of master-

**Sanskrit
Literature.**

ing them. Hence it became customary in the schools to compile short Manuals, called *Sutras*. They are so famous for their excessive conciseness that the whole period has sometimes been called the Sutra Period. Such manuals were compiled for every department of knowledge which was taught at that time. Thus we have the *Srauta Sutras* or Manuals for performing Sacrifices; the *Grihya Sutras*, or Manuals of Domestic Rites; the *Dharma Sutras*, or Manuals of Civil and Criminal Law. We have also a *Sutra* on Astronomy; and Panini's Grammar itself is a *Sutra*. The whole of this technical literature came to be known by the name of *Smriti*, or Tradition, to distinguish it from the literature of the preceding period which was looked upon as *Sruti*, or Revelation. But "light literature" was not neglected by the Brahmans. It was in this period that the scattered legends and ballads, which described stirring incidents of the early history of the Indo-Aryans, were collected to form the two celebrated epic poems, the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*. By the side of this Brahmanic literature there gradually grew up a large body of Buddhist and Jain literature which dealt with the peculiar beliefs and practices of those two monastic Orders. That of the Buddhists is known by the collective name of the *Tripitaka*, or Three Baskets, while the sacred books of the Jains are called *Agamas*, or Traditions.

All this literature enables us to form a fairly accurate idea of the religious, social and intellectual condition of the people at this period. For the time of the great Maurya Empire especially we have also the witness of Asoka's inscriptions and of the reports of Megasthenes. The latter was a Greek who resided for several years in Pataliputra as the ambassador of Seleukos, a Greek king, to the court of Chandra Gupta. From these sources we know that the Brahmanical system of caste was at this time flourishing throughout India. It governed not only the social relations of the people, but also the civil and

Social
Condition.

criminal administration of the country. The different castes were differently taxed. The criminal laws were cruelly severe, but the penalties were lightened in proportion to the offender's caste. The general government of the country was a pure autocracy of the king or emperor, more or less tempered by respect for the customary Brahmanical laws, or by fear of the ruling classes, or, as in the case of Asoka, by natural kindness of heart. As to the popular religion, the people were divided mainly into the great sections of the Vaishnavas and Saivas. By the side of the Brahmanical schools there existed numerous individuals or groups of men, devoting themselves to religious speculation and ascetic practices. Their object was the same as that of Gautama Buddha—to find a way of salvation. But they searched for it in opposite directions. Some were followers of the so-called *Vedanta*, and their speculations were theistic, while the others followed the so-called *Sankhya*, which was a kind of atheistic speculation. Both also practised *Yoga*, or ascetic exercises, by which they thought their minds became better fitted for contemplation. But at this time these philosophies had not yet formed regular Schools. Hence there did not yet exist any philosophical *Sutras*, or Manuals. The earliest known manual of this kind is the *Yoga Sutra*, composed by Patanjali, quite at the end of the period, about 150 B.C.

In educational matters there was considerable activity. The Brahmanical schools formed something like Universities, where the *Vedas*, or Theology, Law, Medicine, Grammar, Astronomy, and many other sciences were taught. Among these Universities the most celebrated was that of Taxila, in the Punjab. It was frequented by young men from Benares and other distant parts of India. The number of these Universities was limited, but by their side there existed numerous elementary schools in all towns. They were kept by Brahmans for the benefit, principally, of the mer-

Education and the Art of Writing.

cantile and land-holding classes. The subjects taught in them were Writing, Arithmetic and Account-keeping. The art of writing had been introduced into India towards the end of the preceding period, probably about 600 B.C. At that time a maritime trade was carried on from Broach and other ancient ports in the Gulf of Cambay, above Bombay, through the Persian Gulf to Babylonia. In that trade an early form of the Aramæan script was used. This, no doubt, the Indian mariners learned and brought with them to their Indian home. Here it was taken up by the Brahmans who kept the elementary schools.

In their hands it underwent considerable alterations to suit the requirements of the Indo-Aryan language; and thus it became an entirely new kind of writing, which is known as the *Brahmi*. It was primarily made in the interest of the Indian merchants and their inland trade. Through them the knowledge of it was gradually diffused throughout the length and breadth of the country. At the beginning of the fifth century B.C. it was already known as far north



Inscribed Casket of Buddha's Relics.

as the Nepalese frontier; for the oldest known Brahmi inscription has been found on the box in which Buddha's bones were buried by his Sakya relatives in the Piprahva

Stupa, about 483 B.C. About two centuries later (260-240 B.C.) we find the Brahmi script in general use throughout India, as shown by the Edicts of Asoka. At this time, however, we find also an alternative script in use in the north-western frontier provinces of Asoka's empire. This kind of writing, which is now known as the *Kharoshthi*, is only a slight modification of its Aramæan original; but being rather unsuited to the Indo-Aryan language, it soon fell into disuse, and was entirely forgotten. On the other hand, the Brahmi, which is a truly Indian invention, maintained its ground, and has become the parent of all the varying scripts which, at the present day, are current in India.

CHAPTER VI.

The Later Buddhist Period :

The Parthian and Turki Invasions, and the New Buddhism.

About B.C. 150—A.D. 300.

THE preceding chapter has brought us down to the end of the First Indian Empire about 185 B.C. During the whole of the period which we shall now consider, India was politically in a very perturbed condition, and the exact sequence of events is, to some extent, still uncertain. The causes of the troubles were partly internal dissensions, and partly foreign invasions. The foreign invaders, this time, did not come from Europe, but from Central Asia, and belonged to two different races, the Parthian, and the Turki, or, as it is often called, Scythian. It was not till the beginning of the next period that India was once more united in the Second Empire of the Guptas, which, in extent, nearly equalled the First Empire.

**Introductory
Remarks.**

What the causes of the internal dissensions were we do not exactly know. One principal cause appears to have been the antagonism of Brahmanism to Buddhism and Jainism. For Pushyamitra, the founder of the Sunga dynasty, is said to have been a bitter persecutor of the Buddhists, who, as we have seen, were much favoured by the Maurya dynasty. The general dissatisfaction, thus created, soon led to the disruption of the empire. The outlying provinces on the east, south, west, and north-west separated, and formed themselves into independent kingdoms, so that practically only the central portion, Bihar and Oudh, remained to the Imperial dynasty.

**Causes of the
Disruption of
the First Em-
pire.**

The immediate cause of the disruption appears to have been a difference between Agnimitra and Yajnasena Satakarni. The former was a son of Pushyamitra, and, as viceroy, administered the western province of Malwa. The latter was the governor, or feudatory, of the southern provinces of Vidarbha and Andhra, that is the present Central Provinces, Berar, and Haidarabad. The territories of the two governors adjoined each other, and an ill-considered attempt at a matrimonial alliance on the part of Agnimitra led to a war between them. In this war Satakarni was unsuccessful; and it was probably with the object of retrieving his failure that, in 168 B.C., he went with a large army to the assistance of his eastern neighbour Kharavela, the feudatory king of Kalinga, that is, Orissa and the Circars. Kharavela was a devoted Jain, and possibly that may have been the cause which brought him into warlike collision with his suzerain, the Sunga emperor, Pushyamitra. In this war, by a successful expedition into the very heart of the empire, which led him to the capital Pataliputra on the banks of the Ganges, Kharavela compelled the emperor to sue for peace and acknowledge his independence. We know all this from an inscription of Kharavela, incised by him, in 157 B.C., on a rock in the Udaigiri hills, near Cuttack.

In the meanwhile, the fortunes of the empire had been equally disastrous on the extreme north-western frontier. About the events in this region we have the contemporary evidence of numerous coins, and of the celebrated grammarian, Patanjali. It appears that about 180 B.C., Demetrios, the Grecian king of Bactria, or Western Turkestan, had invaded and conquered the two north-western provinces, Afghanistan and the Punjab. About 185 B.C. they were wrested from him by a rival called Eukratides. At the same time, another Græco-Bactrian prince,

The Independence of Kalinga.

The Græco-Bactrian conquest of the Western and North-Western Provinces.

Menander, or Milinda, as he was called in India, invaded the province of Sindh. The immediate cause of his attack appears to have been a difference with the Sunga governor, Vasumitra, concerning a horse. In order to celebrate the success of Agnimitra in the war with the allied governors of Andhra and Kalinga, it appears that his father Pushyamitra wanted to perform the great *Asvamedha* or "horse-sacrifice." The horse for this solemnity was to be supplied by Agnimitra's son, Vasumitra, who was the governor of Sindh, and the quarrel with Menander somehow arose on this account. Menander not only conquered Sindh, but the adjoining western provinces of Gujarat and Malwa. He carried his victorious arms even as far as Ayodhya in Oudh, to which he laid siege, and Sakala, near Amritsar, in the Western Punjab. Thus he built up a very widely extended dominion, over which he appears to have ruled for many years, down to about 130 B.C.

In the meantime there had appeared on the borders of India a formidable foe who soon overthrew the whole of the Græco-Bactrian kingdoms. These were the Sakas, a section of the great Turki, or Scythian, race. Their original settlements had been in Eastern Turkestan. Thence they were driven out, about 160 B.C., by the so-called Yuechi, another section of the same race. They migrated to India, probably across the passes of the Karakorum Range, and through the valleys of the Indus. Having reached India, one portion marched west into Afghanistan, conquering the numerous small Græco-Bactrian sovereignties which had established themselves after Eukratides' death, under Strato, Lysias, and other princes. They chiefly settled in the western part of Afghanistan, which hence came to be called *Sakasthana*, or the country of the Sakas, being the modern Seistan. The best known of their kings, about 90 B.C., was Azes. The other portion of the invading Sakas occupied the Punjab, and gradually extended their conquest over the whole of the territory once belonging to Menander,

The Saka Invasion.

i.e., Sindh, Gujrat and Malwa. Each of these provinces was ruled by a governor, or Kshatrapa (Satrap), as he was called. From two inscriptions of Shodasa, the Satrap of Mathura, and Liaka, the Satrap of Taxila (Shah Dheri in the Punjab), we know that, about 110 B.C., this portion of the Sakas was ruled by a king called Mogas or Maues.

We have now followed the fortunes of the Sunga Empire down to about 100 B.C., and traced its extensive losses in the east, west, and north-west. Not long afterwards it lost also its great southern province of Andhra, now represented by the Central Provinces, Berar and Haidarabad. From the very confused account of the *Puranas*, when fairly construed, it appears that, about 117 B.C., a *Sungabhritya*, or minister of the Sunga emperor, Vasudeva by name, who was a Brahman of the Kanva family, usurped the imperial power. For forty-five years he and his descendants, known as the Kanvayana dynasty, ruled the empire, just like the Peshwas in later times, while the members of the Sunga dynasty continued to be the nominal sovereigns. The establishment of this Brahman rule apparently only served to intensify the prevailing sectarian animosity. Anyhow, about 73 B.C., the governor of the Andhra province, called simply Satakarni, revolted. He subverted both the actual Kanvayana and the nominal Sunga dynasties (about 117-73 and 135-73 B.C., respectively), and himself seized the paramount power. With this event the First Indian Empire became extinct. The central portion, Bihar and Oudh, now sank to the position of an insignificant province, while in the west, south, and east respectively, the great kingdoms of the Sakas, Andhras, and Kalingas took its place. Of the subsequent fortunes of the central portion nothing definite is known until the rise of the Second Indian Empire of the Guptas in the next period. From the confused account in the *Puranas*

**The Revolt of
Andhra, and the
Extinction of the
First Empire.**

only this much may be concluded, that the unhappy country was torn by a succession of internal contests of rival factions belonging to different castes and tribes. Of the fortunes of the Kalinga kingdom also nothing is known for many centuries, till about 610 A.D., when we find it ruled by Indravarman of the Ganga dynasty.

Let us now return to the history of the Saka kingdom. We have seen that it was divided into a number of "Satrapies," subject to a paramount sovereign who called himself the "King of Kings." The Parthian Invasion and the Vikrama Era. On the west it was adjoined by the Parthian kingdom, which at that time was in a state of great political disorder. The exact cause of the occurrence we do not know, but from extant coins it appears that, about 60 B.C., Arsaces Theos, or the Divine, a scion of the Arsacide dynasty of Parthia, invaded the Saka territory. To meet this attack the Sakas had naturally to withdraw their forces from the eastern parts of their kingdom. The opportunity, thus created, was utilized by the warlike clans of the Malavas to combine and rise against their Saka satrap. A great battle was fought by them, as it is said, at Karor in the Punjab, in which the Sakas were totally defeated. This was in 57 B.C., and it is most probably from this epoch of the Malava rising against the Saka rule that the Malava or, as it is now called, the Vikrama era dates. It has received the latter name from a king, Vikramaditya, who, as we shall see in the next period, also achieved at the head of the Malava clans, a great victory over the Huns about A.D. 525. The Saka kingdom, which was thus attacked both in the east and west, fell to pieces. In its place arose the Indo-Parthian kingdom, which, however, itself enjoyed but a very short period of existence. This kingdom reached the zenith of its power and extent under Gondophares, whose long reign, according to a still-existing inscription, began about 20 A.D. But not very long after him, it was overthrown by the second Turki invasion of the Kushanas.

We have seen that about 160 B.C., the Sakas were driven out of their original settlements in Eastern Turkestan by the Yuechi, another section of the same Turki race. The Yuechi, in their turn, were expelled by the Uighur, or Usun, a third section of that race, and migrated into Western Turkestan, which they gradually occupied in force on both sides of the Oxus. The Yuechi were divided into five tribes, the principal of which was the Kushana. About 60 A.D., the chief of the latter, Kadphises I, having united the five tribes into one kingdom, proceeded to conquer Afghanistan, and then to attack the Indo-Parthian kingdom of India. The troubles thus created in that kingdom, were utilized by its Saka satraps in Gujarat for the assertion of their own independence. This was in 78 A.D., and it is probably from this event that the so-called Saka era dates. Kadphises I eventually succeeded in overthrowing the Indo-Parthian kingdom, and in establishing in its place the Kushana empire. Of India, however, that empire never included much more than the Punjab and Kashmir, while its larger portion lay outside India ; for this reason it cannot strictly be classed as an Indian empire. Its widest extent was reached under Kanishka, who, as the consensus of numismatic, epigraphic, literary and other evidences renders very probable, came to the throne



Kanishka's Gold Coin of Buddha.

about 125 A.D. He added Kashmir to the empire, and pushed its Indian frontier as far as Mathura. He became also a convert to Buddhism, and in commemoration of the fact struck medals bearing Buddha's effigy. About 152

A.D., Kanishka was succeeded by Huvishka, and he by

Vasudeva. Their combined reigns, both of which were very long, lasted down to about 225 A.D. The subsequent course of events is not well known, but this much is certain that the Kushana Empire gradually broke up. This was due, at first, probably to invasions of the new Sassanian dynasty of Persia, which was founded in 226 A.D., and finally to the conquests of the Second Indian Empire of the Guptas, which arose in the next period.

The confederacy of the Malava clans, as we have seen, succeeded in throwing off the Saka yoke in 57 B.C. They appear, as we know from their coins, to have preserved their independence for nearly 200 years. But in Gujarat the Saka rule does not appear to have ever been entirely subverted. On the contrary, the satraps of that province continued to rule in dependence on the Indo-Parthian "King of Kings" and, as we have seen, they succeeded in establishing their independence in 78 A.D., during the last struggles of those kings with the Kushana invaders. We know from certain inscriptions that in 119 A.D., Gujarat was ruled by an independent Saka satrap, called Nahapana, who had included Malwa, with its capital Ujain, in his dominions. About 124 A.D., he was defeated by the Andhra king, Gautamiputra. The victor annexed Malwa, and placed it in charge of another Saka Chief, called Chashtana, who is mentioned by the celebrated contemporary Greek geographer, Ptolemy, about 139 A.D., as ruling in Ujain under the name of Tiasenes. He took possession also of Gujarat and founded a new dynasty, the members of which afterwards adopted the title of *Maha-kshatrapa*, and are commonly known as the "Western Satraps." The third of this dynasty, Rudradaman, who had married a daughter of the Andhra king Pulomavi II, quarrelled with his father-in-law, made himself independent, and re-established the "Great Satrapy" or kingdom of Saurashtra, which included both Malwa and Gujarat. On the rock of Junagarh, which bears an inscription of Asoka, he proudly added one of

**The Rise of the
Great Satrapy.**

his own, in 150 A.D., in which he records his political achievements as well as his works of public utility. His dynasty, which by this time had become thoroughly Indianised, comprised twenty-seven members, all but the first bearing Indian names. The last of them, called Rudrasimha, reigned well into the next period, down to about 395 A.D., when the "Great Satrapy" was annexed to the Second Indian Empire by Chandra Gupta II.

In the beginning of its existence the "Great Satrapy" had to fight repeatedly for its independence against a formidable foe on its eastern frontier. Here lay the great kingdom of the Andhras. The origin of this kingdom is still imperfectly known. It appears that at the time of the Maurya empire, the southern portion of the latter, lying between the Narbada and the Kistna, was in the occupation of three peoples, the Rathiyas (or Rashtrikas), Satiyas, and Andhras, in its western, northern and eastern parts respectively. The chiefs among the Rathiyas were called Maharathiyas, and from them their country took the name of Maharashtra. But while their country, as well as that of the Satiyas, had become so thoroughly aryanized that they had adopted the Aryan language (Marathi) of their rulers, the eastern portion, ruled by the Andhra chiefs, had remained, as we saw in Chapter V, partially Dravidian, and had retained its Telugu language. These Andhra chiefs had their capital at Dharnikot, near the mouth of the Kistna, and, as early as 300 B.C., as we know from the reports of Megasthenes, ruled a powerful kingdom. Later, as we know from Asoka's Edicts, their country formed the southern province of the Maurya Empire. With the decline of that empire, about 200 B.C., Simuka, the Governor or Viceroy of the Andhra province, assumed a practically independent position, and founded the Andhra dynasty. He and his brother Krishna even extended their rule westward and northward over North Maratha and Eastern Malwa.

The Kingdom of the Andhras, and the Kalachuri Era.

His son, Sri Satakarni, the third of the dynasty, as we have seen, in alliance with Kharavela, the governor of Kalinga, about 168 B.C., went to war with the Sunga emperor Pushyamitra. About 73 B.C., another Satakarni, the sixth of the line, slew both the Sunga emperor Devabhuti and his Brahman minister Susarman, who had made themselves detested by their depravity. Having thus put an end to the Sunga and Kanvayana dynasties, he assumed the paramount power of the empire. Hala, the seventeenth of the dynasty, about 62 A.D., is noteworthy as being the reputed author of the *Sapta-sataka*, or Seven Centuries, the well-known anthology of erotic verses in the Prakrit language. But its widest extent the Andhra kingdom attained under Satakarni Gautamiputra, the twenty-third of the dynasty (about 106-130 A.D.), who, about 124 A.D., defeated the before-mentioned Nahapana, king of the Great Satrapy, and added his Gujarat and Malwa provinces to his own dominions. These now extended right across India from the eastern to the western coast, and from north of the Vindhya to Mysore in the south. The new provinces, however, as previously related, were again lost under his son Pulomavi II, Vasishtiputra (about 127-155 A.D.), to Rudradaman, the Great Satrap. Early in his reign, Pulomavi II seems to have acted at Paithan as viceroy of his father, who himself resided at Kolhapur. They are both mentioned as synchronous rulers (about 127-130 A.D.) by their contemporary Ptolemy. After Pulomavi II the Andhra power gradually declined, till it came to an end with Pulomavi III. Little is known of the exact circumstances under which this event occurred. But it appears that, about 221 A.D., the Andhras were displaced in their south-western province of Banwasi by their ministers, known as *Andhra-bhrityas*, of the Chutu race, who ruled that province till they were themselves displaced by the Kadamba chiefs. About the same time the south-eastern provinces, which had been the original part of the Andhra kingdom, seem to have passed into

the possession of Pallava chiefs, with their capitals at Vengi and Kanchipur (Conjeveram). The Andhra dynasty, which still continued to rule in the northern provinces, was finally extinguished about 249 A.D., by Isvarasena, an Abhira chief, who founded the Traikutaka dynasty. Hence, that year became the epoch of a new era, which is now commonly known as the Kalachuri or Chedi era. The Andhra dynasty, which is known also as the Satavahana, or Salivahana, comprised altogether thirty members, who reigned about 49 years (200 B.C.—249 A.D.). As to the states into which the great kingdom of the Andhras was split up, they were all, as we shall see in the next chapter, brought into subjection to the Second Empire of the Guptas.

Having traced the political history of India, we must now briefly turn our attention to the general condition of the people during this period. Here the most important event is the complete transformation of Buddhism from a mere monastic Order into a new, popular religion. This transformation, in its turn, gradually changed the whole condition of Indian religion, society and thought. It finally resulted, as we shall see in the next period, in that complex form of Indian civilization which is summed up in the term Hinduism.

Primitive Buddhism, as before explained, was a system of practical ethics, of self-discipline and regard for others, superadded to the ancient religious speculations of the Brahmans regarding the destiny of man. This two-fold teaching was the product of Indian thought, and harmonised with the feelings of the Indian people. But when it came to be propagated among peoples whose mode of thought and aspirations were entirely different from the Indian, it necessarily underwent an essential change. This propagation, we have seen, had begun under Asoka. His missionaries carried Buddhism into the north-western provinces of his empire, into the Punjab and Afghanistan.

General Condition of the people.

Rise of the New Buddhism.

Here it came into contact with the Grecian culture, which, since Alexander's invasion, and under his successors (the Græco-Bactrian kings), had been in the ascendant in those regions. Later on, when those regions were occupied by the Sakas and Kushanas, Buddhism, along with the Grecian culture, was readily adopted by these uncivilized Turki people. To them, Brahmanism, with its exclusive caste system, was repellent, while Buddhism, with its good-will toward all men, naturally proved attractive. But to meet their aspirations the Buddhist teachers had to teach something more simple than pure Buddhism. These people did not want a system of ethics, but gods ~~whom they could see, and to whom they could pray.~~ So Buddha was gradually changed into a divinity, and the prevailing Greek Art supplied his images, which hitherto had been unknown in Buddhism. The latter, once a select Order of ascetic monks, now grew into a new popular religion, with a pantheon of Buddhas and Bodhisatvas and attendant deities and demons, whose images were adored in spacious temples, with pompous ceremonials, and in noisy festivals. This new Buddhism, as it embraced the whole people, was called the *Mahayana*, or the Great Vehicle, in contrast with the *Hinayana*, or the Little Vehicle, of the primitive Buddhism, which had been only for the select few. Just as the emperor Asoka had been the patron of the latter, so now the emperor Kanishka became the patron of the former. Under him, a council of Buddhist leaders took place at Jalandhar in the Punjab, where apparently the Canon, or the collection of the Sacred Books of the Mahayana, was fixed; and thus the new Buddhism received its official sanction. Asvaghosha, the poet and patriarch, who was a contemporary of Kanishka, wrote for it a book of devotion, called *Buddha Charita*, being a legendary Life of Buddha. Its great apostle, about 180 A.D., was the celebrated Nagarjuna, who wrote the *Prajnaparamita*, or, the Perfected Wisdom, a book which

was regarded as the highest authority on the Mahayana form of Buddhism. In the course of his long life, Nagarjuna spread the new Buddhism throughout the whole of India. It was only in Ceylon that the older form, the Hinayana, survived. There it exists to the present day, while the Mahayana has perished in India.

Though the new Buddhism enjoyed the general favour of the Indian people, it must not be thought that Brahmanism was entirely abandoned. On the contrary, both systems received from the kings gifts of land and property, and the people still resorted to the Brahmans for all domestic rites at births, marriages and deaths, and lived under their rules of caste. The evidence of this is contained in the famous *Manava Dharma Shastra* or Code of Manu, which was compiled about 200 A.D., and which records the system of Brahmanism as it existed in this period. But, no doubt, Buddhism had the lion's share of popular favour; and it thus roused the jealousy and even the hatred of Brahmanism, which circumstance, as we have seen, did not remain without its effect on the political history of India. Another effect of the general favour shown to Buddhism, was the neglect of the Vedic sacrifices and ceremonials, the decay of the Brahmanic schools, and indifference to the Sanskrit language and literature. On the other hand, with reference to philosophy and religious speculation, Brahmanism, roused no doubt by the rivalry of Buddhism, developed a high degree of activity. We have already noticed, in the preceding period, the beginnings of the Vedanta, Sankhya, and Yoga philosophies. In the course of this period, two new systems branched off from the theistic Vedanta: (1) the *Purva Mimamsa* or the Primary Enquiry, which treats of the spiritual value of the Vedic sacrifices; and (2) the *Uttara Mimamsa* or Secondary Enquiry, which is merely a fuller development of the older pantheism of the Vedanta. Similarly,

State of Brahmanism.

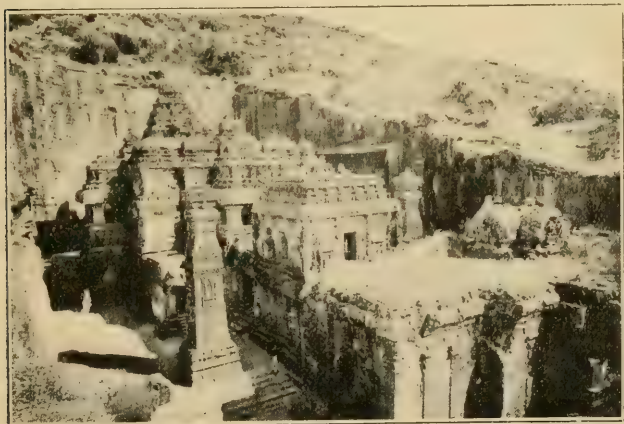
Brahmanic Philosophy.

two new systems branched off from the atheistic Sankhya : (1) the *Vaiseshika*, treating of physics and psychology, and (2) the *Nyaya*, treating principally of logic. Thus there were now six distinct philosophical schools, each of which was provided with its own *Sutra* or Manual.

While Brahmanism thus devoted itself to the pursuit of the mental sciences, it was in keeping with the practical character of the new Buddhism that it no less fostered the arts

Arts and
Sciences.

and the applied sciences. Medicine, Architecture and Sculpture attained a high degree of perfection during the period of the *Kushana* empire. At Kanishka's court there flourished the great physician Charaka, whose *Samhita* or general text-book on Medicine is still considered a standard work in India. No less renowned is the *Samhita* or general text-book of the great surgeon Susruta, which is said to have been revised and enlarged by Nagarjuna. Under the influence of Greek teachers of Art, and in the service of the new Buddhism, there arose in Afghanistan and the Punjab the famous Gandhara



"Rock-Temple of Kailasa."

School of Architecture and Sculpture. It built magnificent *Chaityas* or temples, and *Viharas* or monasteries, and decorated them with numberless statues of the Buddhist pantheon, and scenes from its mythology. A similar school of a more Indian style flourished in Central India, where the still existing ruins of Bharhut, Sanchi, Amravati, Nasik and other places, testify to the skill and enterprise with which the Buddhist artists built their religious monuments with stone, or carved them out of the living rock.

There is a very early tradition, going back to the third century A.D., which tells us that St. Thomas, one of the twelve Apostles of Jesus Christ, visited North-western India in the reign of the Indo-Parthian king, Gondophares. That king himself, and multitudes of people with him, are said to have embraced the Christian faith. St. Thomas is reported to have proceeded afterwards to the court of another king, Mazdai, by whose command he was put to death. There is no good reason for rejecting this old tradition ; but the Christianity, thus introduced, does not appear to have long survived, though it would seem to have had an indirect effect in fashioning some parts of the popular Buddhism and Brahmanism of that time. At any rate, however, there is no truth in the story of a mission of St. Thomas to South India, in which part of the country Christianity was introduced at a much later date, probably in the sixth century A.D., by Nestorian missionaries from Persia.

**First Christian
Settlement in
India.**

CHAPTER VII.

The Early Hindu Period :

The Second, or Gupta Empire, and the Brahmanic Revival.

About 300—650 A.D.

THE great event with which this period opens is the establishment of the Gupta, or Second Indian Empire. India, which, at the end of the preceding period, we saw broken up into a number of large kingdoms, was now reunited by it under one all-embracing rule. But this rule lasted only a little more than two centuries, after which India relapsed into its former condition of political disunion. At first there was a number of large states ; but these, as we shall see in the next period, in their turn broke up into smaller units, and the condition, thus created, of mutual distrust, rivalry, and warfare, rendered India unable to withstand the shock of the great Muhammadan invasion which at last surprised it near the end of the twelfth century.

Introductory Remarks. As has been said, after the fall of the Kanvayana dynasty about 73 B.C., the old Maurya Empire had gradually shrunk to the small, insignificant province of Magadha, or Bihar. This country had been the nucleus of the First Empire. It now became also the starting point of the Second Empire. About 280 A.D., there lived in Magadha a person called Gupta. He probably belonged to the Sudra caste. How it happened we do not know ; but in the troubled political condition of that time, he came to the front, and succeeded in raising himself to the

The Gupta Dynasty.

position of *Maharaja*, or King, of Magadha. His grandson, Chandra Gupta I, contrived to marry a princess of the powerful clan of the Lichhavis of Nepal. The access of influence, thereby acquired, enabled him to extend his dominion as far as Prayaga, or Allahabad, and thus to make the first beginning of the great



Gold coin of Chandra Gupta and his Lichhavi Queen.

Gupta Empire. This was in 320 A.D., and it is, therefore, from this year that the so-called Gupta era dates. But it was his son, Samudra Gupta, a contemporary of King Meghavarna of Ceylon (304-332 A.D.) who was the real founder of the empire. He was not only a great soldier, but also an accomplished man of letters. He transferred his capital from Pataliputra, or Patna, to Kausambi. There he set up a pillar, now standing in Allahabad, on which he engraved a record of his conquests. From this record we know that, in the course of his long reign of about fifty years (326-375 A.D.), Samudra Gupta subjected to his rule the whole of the Indian peninsula with the exception of Gujarat and the Punjab in the west, Bengal in the east, and the small Chola and Pandya kingdoms in the south. But Gujarat and Bengal were afterwards added to the empire by his son Chandra Gupta II (375-413 A.D.). This we know from a record on the Iron Pillar at Delhi, which was incised after his death in memory of his exploits. It will thus be seen that, as to its geographical limits, the Gupta Empire nearly rivaled that of the Mauryas. But over a very large portion the rule of the Guptas was only indirect, or even nominal. Their effective rule never extended beyond that part of Northern India which we call Hindustan. The states of the Deccan, such as the Kalachuri and Pallava, were only feudatory, and those of the north-east, Bengal and

Assam paid only a nominal tribute. In the countries, however, which were under the direct rule of the Guptas, the administration, according to the testimony of the



Iron Pillar and Qutub Minar at Delhi.

contemporary Chinese pilgrim Fahian, rivalled in excellence that of the great Asoka. This was specially the case in the reign of Chandra Gupta II and in the earlier years of his son Kumara Gupta I (about 413-455 A.D.

In the later years, as we know from an inscription of his son Skanda Gupta (about 455-480 A.D.) the empire was reduced to great straits. How this exactly happened we do not know ; but it appears to have been due to the aggressive unrest of some of the small semi-independent states on the western borders, which were fragments of the former great Kushana Empire.

That empire, as we have seen in the preceding period, gradually broke up after 226 A.D. It survived into the middle of the fifth century only in the small kingdom of the so-called Little Kushans, who ruled in Kabul and Gandhara (N. W. Punjab). The other fragments of the Kushana Empire, mainly consisting of foreign tribes, who occupied what is the modern Sindh and adjacent parts, had been brought into nominal subjection by Chandra Gupta II. It was these semi-independent tribes that caused the decadence of the Gupta Empire. The most active among them were the Pushyamitras, or Maitrakas, who, as their name shows, had, in the course of time, become Indianised. Subsequently, as we shall see in the next period, they succeeded in forming the independent kingdom of Valabhi ; but in their first attempt they failed, for Skanda Gupta, soon after his accession, about 455 A.D., signally defeated them together with their barbarian allies ; and thus re-established the already tottering Gupta Empire. His success, however, was but temporary. He was soon afterwards confronted by far more formidable foemen. These were the so-called White Huns, a people of Mongol race, who coming from Central Asia, overthrew, about 465 A.D., the kingdom of the Little Kushans. Having done so, they penetrated into India, in irresistible hordes, as far as Eastern Malwa, where, as we know from two inscriptions of their leader Toramana, they established, about 480 A.D., their rule over the western portion of the Gupta Empire. About the same time, the eastern portion passed to Skanda Gupta's half-son, Pura Gupta, and soon afterwards, about 485 A.D.,

to the latter's son Narasimha Gupta. During the time of the latter's reign, Toramana was succeeded, about

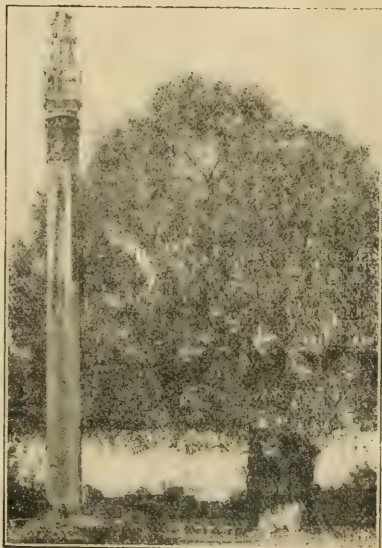


Coin of Vishnu Vardhana.

510 A.D., by his son Mihiragula. This ruler was noted for his inhuman cruelties, and it was, no doubt, his cruel rule that provoked a revolt throughout his dominions. The revolt was headed by the Malava

clans who rose under their Chief, Yasodharman. In a

brilliant campaign, in which he was aided by the Valabhi governor Dronasimha, he utterly demolished, about 525 A.D., the Hunic power. In that campaign, of which Kalidasa, in his *Raghuvamsa*, has left us a sketch under the figure of Rama's "world-conquest" (*dig-vijaya*), he carried his victorious arms to the banks of the Indus, and into Kashmir, and thus made himself master of the whole of the western portion of the Gupta



Vishnu Vardhana's Column of Victory.

Empire. But this success did not content Yasodharman. He now turned his attention to the eastern portion of

that empire. Here the Gupta dynasty, under Narsimha's son Kumara Gupta II, had grown so feeble that Yasodharman, about 529 A.D., easily set it aside, and himself seizing the imperial power under the name of Vishnu Vardhana, founded the Malava Empire. This event he commemorated by the erection of two "Columns of Victory," with duplicate inscriptions, the remains of which exist to the present day at Mandasor.

The reign of Vishnu Vardhana forms one of the most brilliant epochs in the history of the Indian people. He was equally great as a patron of learning, as an administrator, and as a soldier. He not only re-asserted the imperial authority throughout his wide dominions,



Kashmir Coins of Vikramaditya.

but, as we know from still existing coins as well as from the *Rajatarangini*, or Chronicles of Kashmir, he also extended their limits by the conquest of the latter country. On the memorial pillars above referred to, he records the proud

boast that he not only had defeated the Huns under Mihiragula, but that he also ruled a wider empire than ever the Guptas had done. On account of his successful liberation of the country from Hunic oppression, he lived ever after in the memory and traditions of the people as Vikramaditya, or the Sun of Valour (popularly Rajah Bikram)—as shown by its new name of Vikrama era, by which the former Malava era is now known. After a long and prosperous reign of about 56 years he was succeeded, about 585 A.D., by his son, Siladitya, who was a man of a very different character. The unpatriotic reversal of his great father's anti-Hunic policy provoked against him a hostile combination of some of his foremost vassals. The confederates were headed by Prabha-

kara Vardhana, the powerful chief of Thanesar, who was related by marriage to both the imperial houses of the Guptas and Malavas. The civil war which now ensued resulted, about 593 A.D., in the temporary dethronement of Siladitya. Though subsequently he succeeded, with the help of Pravarasena II, the Hunic king of Kashmir, in practically retrieving his position, he was defeated, in 606 A.D., by Rajya Vardhana, the elder son of Prabhakara, in a great battle, which finally put an end to his rule. A son of his, Bhandi by name, was appointed by the victor to succeed him in the government of his home province Malwa. There Bhandi's family continued to reign till about 780 A.D., when, as will be related in the next Chapter, it was extinguished by the Gurjara Chief Vatsaraja upon his conquest of Malwa. Rajya Vardhana, on entering Kanauj after the battle, was treacherously murdered by his enemies. His younger brother, the famous Harsha Vardhana, now assumed the direction of affairs, and fixing his capital at Kanauj, determined to re-unite the imperial power in his hands. In this enterprise he came into collision with Pulakesin II, the Chalukya king of the Deccan, by whom he was totally defeated, about 620 A.D. Consequent on his victory, Pulakesin assumed the imperial titles, and thus inaugurated the great division of the Second Empire into those of the South and the North. In Northern India, on the other hand, Harsha Vardhana was altogether successful in establishing

The Kanauj
Dynasty.

Division of the
Second Empire
into those of
the North and
the South.

sva-haste nama maharajadhiraja Sri Harshaya

AUTOGRAPH OF KING HARSHA.

his imperial authority, after which he got himself

formally crowned about 612 A.D. With the exception of the rebellion of Dhruvasena, king of Valabhi (or modern Gujarat) about 635 A.D., which Harsha successfully subdued, peace and prosperity henceforth ruled in his empire; and that fact was signalled by him, in 644 A.D., by a great religious convocation which he held with much pomp in Prayaga, and which was attended by all his vassal kings, and by the most celebrated doctors of the Brahmanic and Buddhist persuasions. Thus in spite of his partial failure in the South, Harsha Vardhana's forty years' rule over the Northern Empire forms another brilliant epoch in the history of India, and hence the year 606 A.D., which is the year of his accession, has become the starting point of the so-called Harsha era. Unfortunately the prosperity which Harsha had created did not outlast his reign. When he died at the end of 647, or beginning of 648 A.D., the throne was usurped by one of his Brahman ministers. It so happened that just at this time an envoy—Wang Hiuen Tse by name—of the Chinese Emperor, was passing through Tibet and Nepal on his way to the Indian Emperor, Harsha. On his arrival, he found the Emperor dead, and himself most inhospitably received. His escort was massacred by the usurper, but he himself escaped to Nepal. This treachery led to a joint Tibeto-Nepalese war of vengeance, in which the usurper was captured and sent to China. As to the Indian empire, the effect of the war was a complete anarchy, of which Dharasena IV, the king of Valabhi, at once took advantage, assuming the imperial titles and and thus inaugurating the permanent separation of the kingdom of Valabhi from the Northern Empire.

We will now briefly pass in review the general condition of the people during this period.

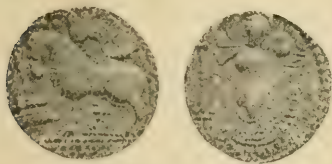
Condition of
the people.

Its distinguishing feature is the revival of Brahmanic religion and literature, and the rise of Hinduism through the blending of Brahmanism with Buddhism. The latter as we have seen in the

preceding period, had gradually changed into a popular religion, and had almost monopolised the popular favour. Brahmanism now made a determined effort to recover lost ground, by imitating and adopting Buddhistic beliefs, rites and practices, such as faith in numerous male and female deities, worship of their images, pilgrimages to their shrines, and so forth. In this effort it fully succeeded, and the result was a thorough transformation

Brahmanism, and the upgrowth of that mixed civilization which is known as Hinduism. The revival of Brahmanism commenced with the rise of the Second Empire and the Gupta dynasty. Samudra Gupta revived the famous horse-sacrifice and struck a gold medal to

commemorate it. On their coins the Gupta emperors describe themselves as *parama-bhagavata*, or foremost devotees of Vishnu, or Krishna. In their time the practice arose of recording on copper-plates the



Medal of the Horse-sacrifice.

grants of land made to Brahmans for the maintenance of temples and the service of images. Many of these medals, coins, and copper-plates still exist as witnesses to the religious condition of Northern India at that time. Moreover, we have the account of an eye-witness in the reports of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Fahian. He traversed the whole of Northern India between 400 and 411 A.D., and found Brahman shrines and Buddhist temples flourishing side by side in all its large towns. Rather more than two centuries later, we have the account of another Buddhist pilgrim, Hiuen Tsang. In 644 A.D., he was present at the great religious convocation at Prayaga above-mentioned. He travelled over a large part of the peninsula, and though he everywhere found many of the finest Buddhist temples already in a ruined state, he nowhere indicates the progress of any violent or warlike conflict

between Brahmanism and Buddhism. This of course, does not exclude the occasional occurrence of riots between the two sects, but it shows that Buddhism was not, as has sometimes been erroneously supposed, stamped out by Brahmanist persecution, but that its disappearance was the natural result of a gradual and peaceful assimilation of the two systems so as to produce the new system of Hinduism.

Coincident with the revival of the Brahmanic religion was the revival of Sanskrit Language and Literature. From the time of the Guptas we find Sanskrit gradually displacing the Prakrits, or vernaculars, in all records, public and private, and in every branch of literature, and this not only among the Brahmanists, but also among the Buddhists and Jains. From this time dates the religious and social literature of the new Brahmanism, the eighteen *Puranas*, or cyclopædias of knowledge, the metrical *Dharma Shastras*, or law books, and the numerous original *Tantras*, or books of religious formularies. In these works learned Brahmins sought to popularise the beliefs and practices of the rising Hinduism. The *Vayu Purana*, the earliest of them, was probably compiled about 320 A.D., under Chandra Gupta I. About that time begins the period of what is called the 'Classical' Sanskrit Literature. It enjoyed two particularly brilliant epochs—one during the reign of Vishnu Vardhana (Vikramaditya) of Malwa about 529-585 A.D., and the other during the reign of Harsha Vardhana of Kanauj about 612-647 A.D. Both these emperors are celebrated as patrons of learning and learned men. Harsha, indeed, is himself said to have been a poet, and to be the author of the romantic drama *Ratnavali*, or the Pearl-Necklace, which reflects the court and harem life of his age. Vikramaditya's court is said to have been adorned by 'Nine Gems,' or men of great learning. The following famous writers, certainly, belonged to his age: Varaha Mihira, who

NB
The Revival of
Sanskrit Lan-
guage and
Literature.

wrote the *Brihat Samhita*, a sort of cyclopædia of all knowledge ; the great logician Dinnaga ; and the three poets, Bharavi, the author of the epic poem *Kiratarjuniya* ; Subandhu, the author of the romance *Vasavadatta* ; and above all Kalidasa, who probably lived at the court of Vishnu Vardhana. The last is the greatest of India's poets. Some of his best works are the romantic drama *Sakuntala*, or the love story of King Dushyanta and the forest maiden Sakuntala ; the epic poem *Raghuvamsa*, or the life of Rama and the history of his race ; and the lyric poem *Meghaduta*, or the Cloud Messenger, being an exile's message sent by a cloud to his wife dwelling far away. The age of Harsha was no less distinguished by its circle of cultured men. We have here the two grammarians, Vamana and Jayaditya of Kasi, or Benares, who wrote the *Kasikavriti*, the celebrated commentary on Panini's Grammar ; the great astronomer Brahmagupta ; and the two poets Bana and Dandin, the authors respectively of the romance *Kadambari* and the story book *Dasa Kumara Charita*, or the Adventures of the Ten Princes. But the most eminent among them was Bhartrihari, who was equally great as grammarian, philosopher and poet. Besides other works he wrote the *Bhattikavya*, in which he illustrates the rules of Sanskrit grammar by means of an epic poem on Rama, and the *Niti Sataka*, or one Hundred Verses on Conduct, in which he inculcates maxims for the guidance of daily life.

Another striking feature of this period is the cultivation of the Art of Painting. The most conspicuous example of it is presented **Art of Painting**. by the celebrated fresco paintings on the walls of some of the cave temples of Ajanta. These paintings belong to the more peculiarly Indian school of art, and some of them probably go back to the preceding period. They represent, with uncommon beauty and grace, incidents from the life of Buddha, as well as notable events in the political history of India. To the

latter belongs, *e.g.*, the picture which shows the reception, in 625 A.D., of the ambassadors of the Persian king Khusru II, by the Southern Emperor Pulakesin II.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Later Hindu Period :

**The Rajput States, The Gurjara Empire, and the
Early Muhammadan Invasions.**

About 650—1200 A.D.

IN the preceding period we have seen how the Second Indian Empire, founded by the Guptas, became divided into the two empires of the South and the North. At the end of that period we saw the beginning of the disruption of the Northern Empire by the loss of the kingdom of Valabhi. In the present period we shall see how the Northern Empire steadily went on disintegrating into a number of still smaller kingdoms or principalities. The cause of this general break-up was the rise to political power of the Rajput clans. These clans appear to have been the natural outcome of the settlement in India of the vigorous foreign races of Huns and Gurjaras, and of their subsequent blending with the martial and ruling native clans of India. With their youthful vigour these newly formed Rajput clans pushed themselves into the political forefront, swept away the old effete empire, and replaced it by a large number of smaller kingdoms and principalities, which, for a short time, were consolidated into the Gurjara Empire. The mischief of this new development, however, was that the mutual rivalries and hostilities, engendered between the numerous Rajput dynasties, rendered it impossible for them to oppose a united front to the great conqueror of India, Muhammad of Ghor, at the turn of the 12th century.

At the beginning of this period the Northern Empire was shorn of its westernmost provinces, that is, of Gujarat, and also, as we

**Introductory
Remarks.**

**The Later Gupta
Dynasty, and the**

Disruption of the Northern Empire

shall see presently, of Sindh and the Punjab. It embraced more or less securely the rest of India north of the Narbada, comprising Hindustan in its widest sense, and Bengal. In the reduced empire, the anarchy following the death of Harsha Vardhana appears to have resulted in the ascendancy of a collateral branch of the imperial Gupta dynasty. Its founder was Krishna Gupta, who, under his imperial relatives, held a subordinate position in Malwa. It was Aditya Sena, the seventh in descent, who about 675 A.D., assumed the imperial titles,* and who, for that reason, is traditionally known in Bengal as Adisur, its first king. His successors continued to hold them for about a century longer. The last, whose name is actually known by an inscription, was Jivita Gupta, who reigned about 720 A.D., but as we know from the coins of Jaya Gupta and Hari Gupta, the dynasty must have continued for at least two generations after him down to about 785 A.D. But its rule was now limited to the eastern portion of the empire, viz., Bihar and Bengal, where it was finally displaced by the Pala dynasty.

The Kingdom of Kanauj.

The course of events that led to the break-up of the Later Gupta empire is not exactly known. But we know from a contemporary Jain record that in 783 A.D. there existed two large kingdoms, one with its capital at Kanauj, the other at Ujain, their territories being divided, roughly speaking, by the Jumna. The former kingdom, which comprised the north-western portion of what had been the empire of Harsha Vardhana, and contained its capital Kanauj, enjoyed for that reason the

* These were *Parama-bhattaraka*, *Maharajadhiraja* and *Paramesvara*, which are usually translated "the Most-Worshipful, the Great King of Kings, and the Supreme Lord." The assumption of these titles is a useful guide in tracing the vicissitudes of the empire.

great prestige of paramount empire, and hence became the pivot of all subsequent political movements up to the time of the Muhammedan conquest, which will be related in the following Chapter. In this northern kingdom we find a king Yasovarman reigning in 731 A.D., in which year he sent an embassy to China. He was the patron of the two poets, Bhavabhuti and Vakpatiraja, the latter of whom described the king's military exploits in the epic poem *Gaudavaha*, or conquest of Bengal. These exploits resulted in a war with Kashmir, which led to his utter discomfiture by the Kashmir king Lalitaditya Muktapida, and to the ultimate extinction of his dynasty by Lalitaditya's grandson Jayapida, about 780 A.D. A new dynasty appears now to have been founded by Indrayudha, who is known to have been reigning in 783 A.D. This king got involved in an unsuccessful war with his eastern neighbour Dharmapala, the ambitious ruler of the above-mentioned kingdom of Bihar and Bengal. As a result of the war his brother Chakrayudha was raised to the throne under the suzerainty of the victor. But Chakrayudha soon met with a similar fate. He was defeated, about 814 A.D., in a war with his southern neighbour Nagabhata, the Gurjara ruler of Malwa and Rajputana. The latter, however, as we shall see presently, was himself defeated by the Rashtrakuta Emperor, Govinda III; and thereupon Vajrayudha succeeded to the throne of Kanauj. It was he, probably, under whom the northern kingdom of Kanauj was annexed to the southern kingdom of Ujain, which comprised the south-western portion of what had been the Empire of Harsha Vardhana.

The first ruler of the southern kingdom was Vatsaraja, the Chief of the Gurjara tribe. This tribe appears to have come into India in conjunction with the Huns. It settled partly in the Punjab, a portion of which is still known after it by the name of Gujarat and Gujranwala, and partly in Rajputana, which in early times was called

**The Gurjara
Empire.**

also Gujarat. From Rajputana, where their original capital was in Bhinmal, the Gurjaras spread eastwards into Malwa, where Vatsaraja is known to have been reigning in Ujain in 783 A.D. They even temporarily threatened the Pala kingdom of Bihar and Bengal, whose king Gopala was defeated by Vatsaraja, about 790 A.D. But Dhruva, the Rashtrakuta Emperor of the Southern Empire, interfered, and defeating Vatsaraja drove him back into Rajputana. Not long afterwards, the Gurjaras renewed their eastward advance under Vatsaraja's son, Nagabhata. This time, they penetrated to Kanauj, whose king Chakrayudha, as stated above, was conquered by them; but Dhruva's son, Govinda III, again interfered, and defeating Nagabhata about 814 A.D., drove him back once again into Rajputana. For the third time, the Gujaras advanced under Nagabhata's son, Ramabhadra (about 820-842 A.D.) This time the country was permanently conquered as far as the Jumna, and Ramabhadra assumed the Imperial titles. His son Bhoja I (about 842-885 A.D.) resumed the Gurjara advance across the Jumna, and finally overthrowing and annexing the northern kingdom about 843 A.D., transferred his capital from Ujain to Kanauj. Under him the Gurjara empire reached its widest extent, embracing the whole of Hindustan in its widest sense. It was bordered in the East by the Pala kingdom of Bihar and Bengal, in the South by the Southern Empire of the Rashtrakutas and in the West by the Muhammadan kingdoms on the Indus. Bhoja's son, Mahendrapala (about 885-910 A.D.) maintained the empire practically unimpaired; but after him it began to decline rapidly. In the time of his son Bhoja II, about 913 A.D., Yasovarman, the Chief of the Chandel Rajputs, set himself up in Bundelkhand as an independent ruler with imperial titles. And Bhoja II's half-brother, Mahipala, about 916 A.D., nearly lost his empire in a disastrous war with his southern neighbour, Indra III, the Rashtrakuta ruler of the Southern Empire. Though he soon afterwards

recovered the larger portion of his empire, he had now permanently lost the provinces of Malwa and Rajputana to the Chiefs of the Parmar and Chohan Rajputs respectively, the former of whom assumed the imperial titles. Under Mahipala's son Vijayapala, who about 970 A.D. lost the Gwalior province to the Kachhwaha Rajputs, the empire became practically reduced to the territory north of the Jumna with the capital at Kanauj. In this weak condition it was unable to offer any effective resistance to the now commencing encroachments of the Sultans of Ghazni. About 991 A.D., Rajyapala, the son of Vijayapala, was, together with his ally, king Jayapala of the Punjab, disastrously defeated by Sultan Sabuk Tigin, near the Khurram Valley. Later on, he was even raided by the famous Sultan Mahmud, who captured and sacked Kanauj in 1019 A.D. In the following year, having lost his life in a war with his rival, the Chandel king Ganda, he was succeeded by his son Trilochanapala. With him the once powerful Gurjara dynasty disappears into obscurity till 1097 A.D., when we find Chandra Deva, the Chief of the Gaharwar Rajputs, in possession of Kanauj.

The principality of Ajmir had always formed a part of the western frontier of the Northern Empire. It had been held by the Chief of the Chohan Rajputs from the time of the rise of the Gurjara power, about 780 A.D. Their dynasty comprised a very long line of princes, who all maintained a high reputation as powerful lords of the Western Marches, and from about 1000 A.D., under Simharaja, held a practically independent position. The most conspicuous among them was Vighraharaja, known as Bisal Deo, who, as we know from certain inscriptions on the famous Iron Pillar (now at Delhi), about 1164 A.D., considerably extended his dominions southwards and northwards. He was great as a poet as also as a warrior. A drama, written by him in 1153 A.D., and named *Harakali Nataka*, has been found in

**The Chohans of
Ajmir and Delhi.**

Ajmir, incised on large marble slabs. His principal acquisition was the territory of the Tomara Chiefs, whose capital Delhi had been founded in 993 A.D., and fortified in the eleventh century by Ananga Pala by the erection of the so-called Lalkot, or Red Fort. The last of the Chohans was Prithviraja, the son of Vighraharaja's younger brother Someswara. This is the celebrated Prithiraj, or Rai Pithora, whose defeat near Thanesar, in 1192 A.D., at the hands of Muhammad Ghorî, has become famous as marking the epoch of the Muhammadan conquest of India.

The Gaharwar dynasty, which was founded by Chandra Deva about 1090 A.D., ruled the greatly reduced kingdom of Kanauj down to the time of the Muhammadan conquest. Its kings still laid claim to the imperial titles, although the kingdom comprised no more than the country lying, roughly speaking, between Etawa and Benares, north of the Ganges. The last of the line was Jaya Chandra. With him the last remnant of the old Northern Empire disappeared in 1193 A.D., when it was annexed to the Muhammadan Empire of Muhammad Ghorî.

We have stated that Yasovarman, the Chandel chief of Bundelkhand, with his capital at Mahoba, had assumed independence about 913 A.D., and had set himself up as a rival to the Gurjara Emperor. In consequence his dynasty found itself involved in perpetual wars with one or other of his neighbours who also claimed the imperial crown. These were, in the north, the Gurjaras and Gaharwars of Kanauj, in the south-west, the Parmars of Malwa, and in the south, the Kalachuris of Chedi. The pretensions of the Chandel dynasty were finally extinguished by Qutbuddin Aibak, who, under Muhammad Ghorî's orders, reduced it to subjection in 1193 A.D.

At the time when the Gurjara empire began to decline,

about 916 A.D., Malwa fell to the share of the Parmar clan of Rajputs. Their chief, Krishnaraja, assumed the imperial titles, and founded the Parmar dynasty. The pretensions to empire, as usual, involved the dynasty in almost perpetual warfare with its neighbours. The kingdom attained its widest extent under Harsha Deva Siyaka, the third in descent, who, as we know from inscriptions and coins, about 972 A.D., made an expedition into the Southern

**The Parmars
of Malwa.**



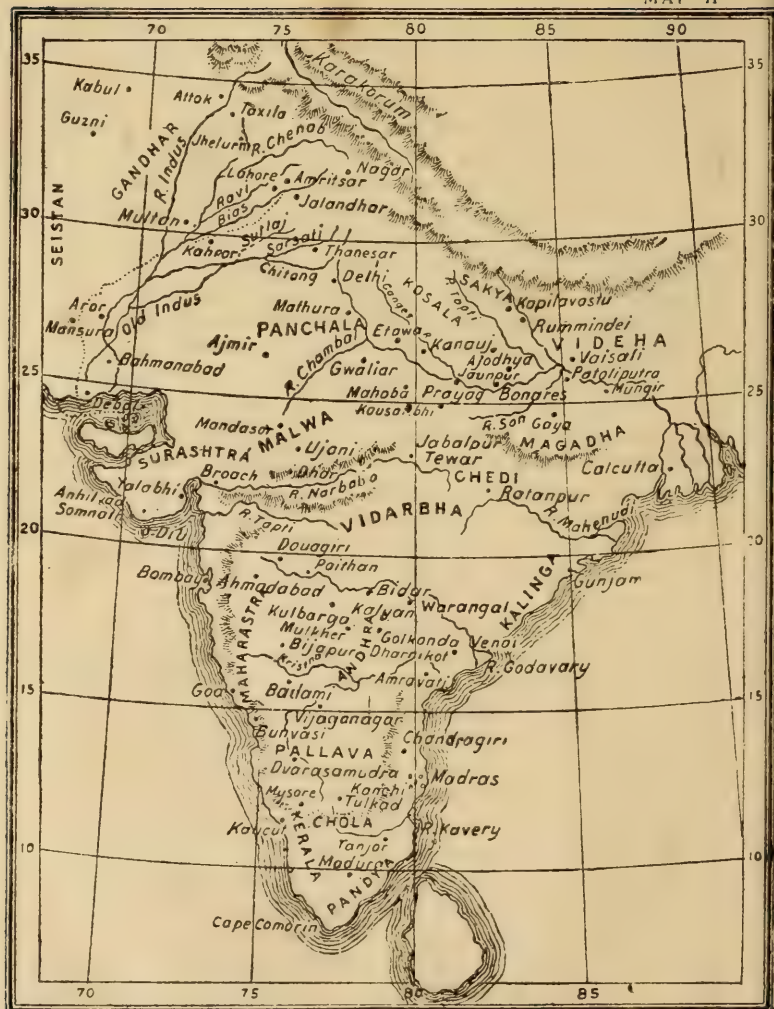
Deccan Coin of Harsha Deva.

empire, and plundered the wealth of Malkher, the capital of the Rashtrakuta dynasty. But the best-known prince of the dynasty is Bhoja, the celebrated patron of learning, whose long reign, from about 1010 to 1055 A.D., forms the most brilliant epoch in this period of Indian history. Though repeatedly the victim of Muhammadan raids, the dynasty preserved its independence down to the beginning of the fourteenth century, when its country was annexed to the Muhammadan Empire by Muhammad I, of the Khalji dynasty.

It will be remembered that the Later Gupta dynasty continued to rule in Bihar and Bengal down to about 785 A.D. About that time it appears to have been overturned by a local chief of Bihar called Gopala, who resided at Mungir (Monghyr). He assumed the imperial titles, and his ambition appears to have been to conquer also the kingdom of Kanauj for the sake

**The Palas of
Bihar and
Bengal.**

of the prestige of Empire attaching to it. The same ambition, as we have seen, incited also the Gurjara Chief Vatsaraja to his advance from the West. The two rivals, from the East and West, met in battle, and Gopala was defeated, about 790 A.D. His project was more successfully resumed by his son Dharmapala, (about 810-875 A.D.). He conquered Kanauj, about 810 A.D., but



Map illustrating Chapters IV. to X.

replacing the conquered king Indrayudha by his own nominee Chakrayudha, he contented himself with the suzerain power, which, as known from a land grant of his, he retained till about 843 A.D., when, as previously stated, the Kanauj kingdom passed into the possession of the Gurjara emperor, Bhoja I. Dharmapala was followed by a very long line of kings, the ninth of whom, Mahipala, is known to have been on the throne in 1026 A.D. It was shortly after his time that Bengal became independent under the Senas. The whole Pala dynasty comprised some twenty members. It seems to have never relinquished its allegiance to Buddhism; and it was owing to its patronage that Bihar remained the last refuge of that Faith in Northern India up to the very time of the Muhammadan conquest. The case was different with the Bengal portion of its territory, which was lost to Buddhism in the latter half of the 11th century. The reason appears to have been that, at the time, Bengal was administered by governors who belonged to the zealously brahmanic family of the Senas.

One of these, Vijaya Sena, about 1095 A.D., made himself independent of the Pala sovereigns; and his grandson, Lakshmana Sena, ousted them even from Tirhut or North Bihar. This was in 1119 A.D., and hence that year has become the epoch of the so-called Lakshmaniya era which is specially current in Tirhut. Lakshmana Sena had a very long reign; and he was still on the throne in 1193 A.D., when Bihar and Bengal were conquered by Muhammad-i-Bakhtiyar, one of Muhammad Ghorī's generals. It was thus that the rule of the Pala and the Sena dynasties was extinguished at the same time.

The Senas
of Bengal.

It was shown at the end of the preceding period, how, at the time of the anarchy consequent on Harsha Vardhana's death, the kingdom of Valabhi, or modern Gujarat, was definitely separated from the Northern Empire by Dharasena IV.

The Kingdom of
Gujarat under
the Valabhis and
the Chalukyas.

of the Valabhi dynasty. This dynasty was so called, because it had its capital at Valabhi, the modern Wala in Kathiawad. It was founded, about 495 A.D., by Bhatarka, the Chief of the Mihira, or Mair clan, probably a Turki clan which had come in with the Sakas, but had in the course of time become indianised. Bhatarka had been appointed *Senapati* or Military Governor, by the Hunic conqueror Toramana, in the time of the latter's domination over the western portion of the Gupta empire. His grandson, Dronasimha, as previously related, was promoted to be *Maharaja* by the emperor, Vishnu Vardhana as a reward for his aid in delivering India from the cruel domination of Mihiragula; and Dharasena IV, the twelfth in descent, as has also been stated, assumed the imperial titles in 645 A.D. His successors continued to hold that dignity till about 770 A.D., when the Valabhi dynasty became extinct with Siladitya VI, the nineteenth in descent. The exact cause is not known, but it was probably effected by an Arab expedition from Sindh. On the retirement of the Arabs, the throne was seized by a Chavada chief, who made his capital at Anhilvad, or Patan. His dynasty, under the suzerainty of the Gurjara emperors, reigned down to about 970 A.D., when it was supplanted by Mularaja I, the Chief of the Solanki, or Chalukya, Rajputs. These Rajputs appear to have been a branch of the Gurjara tribe; for they gave to the country into which they migrated the name of Gujarat by which it is now known. Mularaja's father is said to have come originally from the kingdom of Kanauj, where his ancestors, for several generations, had held the Katak, or fort of Kalyana. It is not impossible that they were a collateral branch of the Gurjara imperial dynasty. Be that as it may, Mularaja's father migrated to Patan, and married the daughter of the last Chavada king. On the latter's death, Mularaja seized the throne. His Solanki dynasty continued to rule Gujarat with the imperial titles down to the very end of the thirteenth century, when their country was

annexed to the Muhammadan Empire by Muhammad I of the Khalji dynasty.

It remains to describe the fortunes of Sindh and the Punjab—originally also provinces of what was once the great Northern Empire—and their conquest by the Muhammadans. But before doing so, it will be convenient briefly to relate the history of the political divisions of South India, namely, the Southern Empire and the kingdoms of the Pallavas, Cholas, and Pandyas, and of the Kalachuris of Chedi. We have seen that the Southern Empire was founded about 620 A.D., by Pulakesin II, of the Chalukya dynasty. The Chalukyas were a Rajput clan whose original seat was in the north. Thence for some reason, no longer known, they had migrated south about 550 A.D., under their chief, Pulakesin I, who finally carved out for himself a small kingdom with its capital at Badami. His grandson Pulakesin II (about 609—642 A.D.), the sixth of the dynasty, vigorously set himself to extend the kingdom in all directions. He gradually brought into more or less effective subjection the whole of Southern India, from sea to sea, and from the Vindhya to Cape Comorin. It was thus that he came into conflict with the Northern Emperor, Harsha Vardhana, who aspired to the paramountcy of the whole of India. In a great battle, fought in Malwa, about 620 A.D., Pulakesin II succeeded in inflicting a decisive defeat on Harsha Vardhana, and compelling the acknowledgment of the independency of the Southern Empire. A curious proof of this achievement is afforded to us by the Ajanta picture, previously referred to, of the complimentary embassy from the Persian king, Khusru II. The weak point, however, in Pulakesin's empire was his claim to suzerainty over the Pallava kings, which the latter persistently disputed. By way of safeguard, Pulakesin appointed, about 615 A.D., his brother Vishnu Vardhana, to the practically independent rule of the

The Southern Empire under the early Chalukyas.

eastern province of Vengi, reserving for himself the larger western portion of the empire, whence his descendants are known as the Western Chalukya dynasty. The measure, however, did not prove sufficiently effective ; for at the end of his reign, about 642

The Western Chalukyas : c. 615-753 A.D.

A.D., he suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Pallava king Narasimha Varman, who captured and destroyed Badami. His successors, indeed, were able to retrieve the disaster and maintain their supremacy ; and Vikramaditya II, the fourth in descent from Pulakesin II, about 740 A.D., even succeeded in shattering the Pallava power. Nevertheless the chronic trouble with the Pallavas so weakened the Chalukya

The Rashtrakutas : c. 753-973 A.D.

power that, about 753 A.D., the rule of Kirtivarman II, the last of the dynasty, was overthrown by his rebellious feudatory Dantidurga, who thus became the founder of the Rashtrakuta dynasty. After a time that dynasty threw out several branches reigning in different parts of the country, the capital of the paramount line being at Malkher. It was, as has been already indicated, in a chronic state of conflict with its northern neighbour, the Gurjara dynasty, several members of which were defeated, respectively, by Dhruva, the third after Dantidurga, about 790 A.D., by Dhruva's son Govinda III, about 814 A.D., and by Indraraja III, about 916 A.D. But its greatest power the Rashtrakuta dynasty enjoyed during the long reign of Govinda III's son, Amoghavarsha, (815-877 A.D.). He not only maintained his suzerainty over the Gangas of Talakad (Mysore) and the Pallavas of Kanchipur and apparently the Cholas and Pandyas of the extreme south, but also held in subjection the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi ; so that, at this time, the Rashtrakuta Empire had practically the same extent as that of the Early Chalukyas under Pulakesin II. After him, however, the Rashtrakuta power gradually declined, till,

about 973 A.D., Tailapa II, a descendant of the Early Chalukyas, and related by marriage to the Rashtrakutas, succeeded with the help of the Northern

Yadava feudatories of Devagiri, in overthrowing Kakka II, the last of the Rashtrakutas. He thus founded the

The Later Western Chalukyas :
c. 978-1210 A.D.

Later Western Chalukya dynasty, which is known also as the Chalukyas of Kalyani. The strongest member of this dynasty was Somesvara I (1040-1069), but its hold on the empire, even in its palmiest days, was imperfect; and after Somesvara I it grew still more feeble. This was owing to the rise of the Cholas of Kanchipur and Tanjore, and of the Hoysalas of Dvarasamudra, the present Halobid. But it was the latter that more directly caused the extinction of the Chalukya rule. The Hoysalas held Northern Mysore as feudatories of the Chalukyas. They rose to power,

by the conquest of their fellow-feudatories, the Western Gangas of Talakad in southern Mysore. In 1173 A.D.,

The Hoysalas :
c. 1048-1311 A.D.

their chief, Ballala II, assumed independence, and even proceeded to contest with his suzerain for the possession of the imperial power. Though he succeeded, about 1190 A.D., in overturning Somesvara IV, the last of the Chalukya dynasty, he did not attain his object. For Bhillama, the Yadava Chief of Devagiri took advantage of the opportunity to seize the imperial power himself. Ballala for a time continued the contest for that power with the Yadava Emperors. But it ended, about 1210 A.D., with his signal defeat by Singhana, the grandson of Bhillama. This victory finally disposed of the pretensions of the Hoysalas, though they continued to reign as feudatories down to the Muhammadan conquest in 1311 A.D. The

Yadavas were a Rajput clan who are said to have migrated, about 825 A.D., from Mathurā into the Deccan to their new seats about Devagiri. Here, known as

The Yadava Dynasty :
c. 1210-1318 A.D.

the Early Yadavas, they lived as the trusty feudatories of the Chalukya and Rashtrakuta dynasties down to the end of the twelfth century, when, under the name of the Later Yadava dynasty, they rose, about 1190 A.D., under Bhillama to supreme power. His grandson Singhana (1210-1247 A.D.) and the latter's grandson Krishna (1247-1260) were the two most powerful members of the dynasty. They appear to have succeeded in re-uniting, for the third time, what were the original territories of the Southern Empire of Pulakesin II. Their descendants reigned down to 1307 A.D., when, as we shall see in the next period, the reigning Yadava prince, Ramadeva, was compelled by Malik Kafur to submit to the Muhammadan Empire. Nominally the dynasty continued to reign till 1318 A.D., when Hara Pala, the last of the Yadavas, was cruelly slain by the emperor, Mubarak Shah, against whom he had rebelled.

The Pallavas or Pahlavas, who have been referred to repeatedly in the preceding account of events, appear to have been originally a Parthian tribe, who came into India in the time of the Indo-Parthian domination, in the 2nd century A.D. Under the pressure of the subsequent Kushana invasion they seem to have wandered into Southern India, where they settled on the south-east coast, within the country of the Andhras and Cholas, between the Godavery and Kaveri rivers, with capitals at Vengi and Kanchipur (Conjeveram). In the meantime, as their names show, they had become thoroughly indianised, and their foreign Parthian origin was forgotten. We obtain the first glimpse of their South-Indian principality, about 430 A.D., when their Chiefs Vishnugupta in Kanchipur and Hastivarman in Vengi, were subjected by Samudra Gupta. On the decline of the Gupta Empire, they formed an independent kingdom, which now seems to have extended across South India to the west coast. From the 7th to the 9th century, their kings persistently, though ineffectually,

The Pallava Kingdom.

disputed the supremacy of the Early Chalukya and Rashtrakuta Emperors of the Southern Empire. It was their king, Mahendravarman II, who, about 610 A.D., was subjected by Pulakesin II, the Early Chalukya. But Narasimhavarman, about 642 A.D., again asserted his independence by the defeat of Pulakesin II, and the capture of his capital Badami. His reign (about 640-655 A.D.) marks the height of the Pallava power, which included the suzerainty over the kings of the Cholas and Pandyas. After him it again declined, till through the successive victories of the Early Chalukya Vikramaditya II, about 740 A.D., over Nandivarman, and of the Rashtrakuta Govinda III, about 803 A.D., over Dantiga, it became so shattered, that, about 900 A.D., under Aparajita, it was entirely overthrown by the Chola king Aditya, who annexed the Pallava territories to his own kingdom.

About 615 A.D., as has been mentioned, Vishnu Vardhana, the younger brother of Pulakesin II, had become the independent sovereign of the eastern portion of the Southern Empire. His kingdom comprised the country lying along the lower courses of the Godavery and Kistna rivers, and had Vengi for its capital. There his descendants, known as the Eastern Chalukya dynasty, reigned without any conspicuous influence on the course of the history of the Empire, down to 1070 A.D., when their kingdom became merged into that of the Cholas. About the early Chola kingdom very little is known. Its territory was on the south-eastern coast, north and south of Madras. It was known already to the Sanskrit Grammarian Katyayana in the fourth century B.C. As we have seen, it formed no part of Asoka's Empire in the third century B.C., nor was it included in the conquests of Samundra-gupta, about 340 A.D. At the latter date it can have been but a small kingdom. It was so still at the time

The Eastern Chalukya Dynasty :
c. 630-1070 A.D.

The Chola Kingdom : c. 985-1319 A.D.

when it was reported on by the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsang, about 640 A.D., when it was tributary to the Pallava kings ; and it remained so for about two centuries longer, until it came under the rule of a new dynasty. The second of this dynasty, Aditya II, as previously stated, about 900 A.D., shook off the Pallava supremacy. Rajaraja I, the fourth in descent from Aditya, but the 10th of the dynasty, by the conquest of the Pallava and Pandya territories, about 995 A.D., succeeded in founding a great rival Chola kingdom. This kingdom reached the height of its power and extension in the reign of his son, Rajendra I (1018-1042 A.D.). This king conquered the Burmese kingdom of Pegu in 1025-1027 A.D., made war with the Later Chalukyas of Kalyani, and even carried his raids as far north as the banks of the Ganges, in commemoration of which latter achievement he built a new capital at Gangapuri. The kingdom continued flourishing for some time. In the long reign of Rajendra II (1070-1118 A.D.), who was a grandson of the Eastern Chalukya king Vimaladitya by the latter's marriage with a daughter of Rajaraja, the Eastern Chalukya territory was united with the original kingdom of the Cholas. After Rajendra II the Chola power gradually declined. About 1150 A.D. it lost the tributary kingdom of the Pandyas, and, as a result of the expedition of Malik Kafur and Malik Khusru to the Malabar coast, in 1311 and 1319 A.D., it sank thenceforth into the position of a petty principality.

Respecting the Pandya kingdom in the earliest days our information is very meagre. It occupied the southernmost portion of the Indian peninsula, south of the Vellaru river, with Madura as its capital. Of its existence as early as the fourth century B.C. we know both from Katyayana's grammatical notes and from the reports of Megasthenes. Its existence, in the third century B.C., is shown by the Edicts of Asoka. According to Strabo and Pliny, who lived in the first and second centuries A.D., it was a

The Pandya Kingdom.

flourishing and enterprising kingdom in those days, possessing a regular maritime trade with the West, and a high degree of culture. Later on, it seems to have declined politically ; for at the time of Hiuen Tsang's visit to Southern India, about 640 A.D., it appears to have been under the suzerainty of the Pallava kings of Kanchipur ; and still later, after the fall of the Pallava power, from about 994 A.D., it was tributary to the Chola kingdom. About 1250 A.D. it appears to have regained some degree of independence under a king named Sundara ; but soon afterwards, in 1311 A.D., it shared in the general eclipse of the South Indian states, consequent on Malik Kafur's military expeditions.

The kingdom of Chedi was situated in the country south of the Narbada, corresponding to modern Berar and the Central Provinces. **The kingdom of Chedi.** Of the early history of this country we have very little information. It must have been included in the Maurya and Sunga Empires. Afterwards it belonged to the great kingdom of the Andhras. What happened to it at the time of the break-up of that kingdom, in the middle of the third century A.D., we do not exactly know. It is only towards the end of the ninth century A.D., that we again obtain a glimpse of it. At that time we find that the so-called Kalachuri era was current in the Chedi country ; and as that era, as previously observed, took its rise in the Northern Konkan province at the time of the extinction of the Andhra dynasty, in 249 A.D., some close connection appears to have prevailed in the intermediate period between the northern Konkan and the neighbouring Chedi country. Anyhow, in the ninth century we find the latter country in the possession of the Haihaya Rajputs, whose Chief, Kokalla, having married his daughter to Krishna II of the Rashtrakuta dynasty of the Southern Empire, established, about 875 A.D., an independent kingdom and founded the Kalachuri dynasty. The two most powerful members of this dynasty were Gangeya-

deva and Karnadeva, who between them must have reigned for about a century (1015-1040 and 1040-1115 A.D.). This was the period of the disruption of the Gurjara empire ; and those two monarchs, assuming the imperial titles, entered into warlike competition with their neighbours for the paramount power hitherto wielded by Kanauj. Gangeyadeva, as we know from Alberuni, reigned about 1030 A.D., and the influence which his rule exercised may be seen from the fact that a new type of coin which he introduced was thereafter



Gold coin of Gangeyadeva.

adopted by his northern neighbours, the Chandel kings of Mahoba, and even the Gurjara kings of Kanauj. It was about this time that the sway of the Kalachuris was extended southwards over Telingana, which gave

them one of their titles, "Lords of Trikalanga." Subsequently, in the twelfth century, they divided into two branches reigning in the eastern and western portions of the country, called Dahala and Mahakosala, with Ratanpur and Tewar (close to Jabalpur) as their respective capitals. Jajalla I and Yasahkarna, the son of Karnadeva, are known, from their inscriptions, to have been reigning in the East and West, in 1114 and 1120 respectively. At the same time, about 1150 A.D., the southern portion, Telingana, assumed independence under its own Kakatya

The Kakatiyas
of Warangal: c.
1150-1325 A.D.

dynasty, who made their capital at Warangal. About 1210 A.D., the whole territory became subject once more to the Southern Empire under the Yadava Singhana. Ultimately, in the first quarter of the fourteenth century, sharing the fate of that empire, it passed into the power of the Muhammadan Empire under the Khalji dynasty.

We will now turn to the history of Sindh and the

Punjab. We have learned already that these provinces had been lost to the Northern Empire at the opening of the present period. The early history of Sindh is not yet fully known. But it would seem that at the time of the Hunic invasion, about 515 A.D., the famous Mihiragula of the Jabula clan, whom the Greeks knew as Gollas, established his rule over the country. His hinduized descendants, known as the Raya dynasty, are said to have reigned down to 631 A.D. In that year Chach, their Brahman minister, usurped the throne ; but his Brahman dynasty was very short-lived. Under Dahir, a son of Chach, it was extinguished by the Arab conquest of Sindh in 712 A.D. In that year Muhammad-i-Qasim was sent by Hajjaj, the Arab governor of Babylonia, to inflict punishment on Dahir for the piratical seizure of an Arab ship at Debal, a little east of the present Karachi. After storming Debal, Muhammad marched up the old course of the Indus to a fort called Rawar, near Bahmanabad. Here Dahir was defeated and slain in a great battle, and his queen, Rani Bai, rather than fall into the hands of the enemy, after the capture of the fort, burned herself on a funeral pyre. Aror, Dahir's capital, as well as Multan, after prolonged sieges, capitulated ; and these successes completed the conquest of Sindh. Thenceforward it formed a province of the Khalifat, or Arab Empire, till, in 871 A.D., it was separated into two independent kingdoms with their capitals at Multan and Mansura. After a long term of comparative power and prosperity, they both fell into disorder in 935 A.D., through the settlement in them of the Qarmatians, a heretical sect of Muhammadans. Finally in 1010 A.D., they were overthrown by the famous Mahmud, the orthodox Muhammadan ruler of Ghazni.

The early history of the Punjab is no less obscure than that of Sindh. So much, however, is certain that, together with Gandhara, or Eastern Afghanistan, it

**The Kingdom of
Sindh and the
Arab Conquest.**

The Kingdom of the Punjab, and the Ghaznavide Invasions.

formed a kingdom which was ruled by a dynasty of so-called Turki Shahis, residing in Kabul. Possibly their rule was only a revival of the kingdom of the Little Kushans, which, as we saw in the preceding chapter, had been temporarily overthrown by the Hunic invasion about 465 A.D., or they may have been a Hunic dynasty. Be that as it may, the rule of the Turki Shahis endured till about 870 A.D., when, as we know from Alberuni's account, it was supplanted by their Brahman minister Lalliya. He founded the so-called Brahman Shahi dynasty, which made Wahand (Ohind), on the Indus, their capital. Bhima Deva, the fourth of the line, appears to have been set aside, about 960 A.D., by the Rajput prince Jaipal, possibly a hinduized descendant of the Kushan dynasty. Under him the kingdom became limited to the Punjab, and its capital was transferred to Bhatinda, near Lahore. This happened in 989 A.D., as the result of an unsuccessful war with Sabuk Tigin, the Samanide governor of Ghazni, who extended his territory up to the Indus. The Rajput dynasty finally succumbed, in 1021 A.D., to the repeated attacks of Sultan Mahmud, the son and successor of Sabuk Tigin. This celebrated Sultan was the real founder of the Ghaznavide dynasty and empire. Having made himself independent of the Samanides, by conquering nearly the whole of their empire in Turkestan and Persia, he proceeded to extend his dominions into India, which he is said to have invaded no less than seventeen times. With the exception of three, all these campaigns were devoted to the conquest and permanent annexation of the frontier kingdoms of Sindh and the Punjab. The former, as we have seen, was reduced in 1010 A.D. Jaipal, of the Punjab, who attempted, in alliance with Rajyapala, king of Kanauj, and Ganda, king of the Chandels, to resist the further encroachments of Mahmud, was defeated in 1001 A.D. Unable to bear his disgrace, he is said to have burned himself to death. His son, Anandpal, was defeated in 1009 A.D. Trilochanpal,

who succeeded in 1013 A.D., was also defeated and driven to take refuge in Kashmir. Thence, as we know from the *Rajatarangini*, or the Kashmir Chronicle, he attempted in 1021 A.D., with the support of a Kashmirian army, to recover his kingdom. But the crushing defeat which Mahmud inflicted on him and his allies put an end to his life as well as to his dynasty. Though a son of his, Bhimpal, escaped from the disaster, the Punjab formed henceforth a part of the Ghazni empire, and was administered by Muhammadan governors.

In the campaign of 1009 A.D., after the death of Anandpal, Mahmud had captured Nagarkot, or the Fort of Kangra. Here, for generations, the wealth of the kings of the Punjab and their chiefs had been stored. The whole of this treasure—an incredible amount of jewels, money, and objects of silver and gold—was looted by Mahmud, and transported to Ghazni. The sight of it served to whet the appetite for plunder, and crowds of Turkis and Afghans flocked to Mahmud's standard. With an army thus swelled, Mahmud set out on his three expeditions into the interior of India. They were, as a matter of fact, only far-reaching raids, undertaken with no aim at conquest, but simply for the sake of plunder and the satisfaction of a vow, made at the beginning of his reign, that every year should see him wage a holy war against the "infidels" of Hindustan. The first campaign, 1018 A.D., was directed against the kingdom of Kanauj. Marching by way of Mathura, which he captured and plundered of the fabulous wealth of its temples, he advanced on Kanauj. Its king, Jaipal, had fled. His capital, with its seven forts, was taken in one day, and all its gorgeous temples were utterly despoiled. After treating similarly some other neighbouring towns, Mahmud returned to Ghazni. The second campaign was directed against the kingdom of Bundelkhand, where, 1023 A.D., Mahmud besieged Gwalior and Kalinjar. Its

Mahmud's Campaigns against the Indian Kingdoms.

king, Ganda, saved himself only by buying off the invader with an enormous ransom. The third campaign took place in 1026 A.D., and had for its objective Somnath, the holy city of Gujarat, which lay at the furthest extremity of Kathiawar on the sea-coast, and was strongly fortified. There stood one of the most sacred temples of the Hindus, enshrining a far-famed *Linga*, a conical stone of great size, visited by hundreds of thousands of pilgrims, and served, so it is said, by a thousand Brahmans who guarded its countless treasures of jewels and money. Mahmud captured the town with great slaughter, and sacked the temple. The great *Linga* was cast down and broken into four pieces, two of which were sent to Ghazni, and the others to Mecca and Medina, as witnesses of Mahmud's zeal for the Faith. The sandal wood gates of the temple, also, were carried



Indian Coin of Mahmud.
(Struck at Lahore, 1027 A.D.)

off to Ghazni, and a million pounds worth of treasure is said to have rewarded the "Idol-breaker," by which name Mahmud became hence-forth known. It was his last and most noteworthy achievement. He died four years after-

wards, in 1030 A.D. His successors continued to reign for about 150 years after his death; but their power steadily waned. They were at last expelled from Ghazni, and their dominion was narrowed down to the Punjab. The last of the dynasty was Khusrau Malik. With him the line ended, 1186 A.D., in the general conquest of India by Muhammad Ghori.

A survey of the general condition of the people in this period may now be given. The process of assimilation of Brahmanism and Buddhism, which was already in full operation in the preceding period, now ended with the complete establishment of Hinduism. A

The Establishment of Hinduism.

principal agent in effecting this result was the institution of rival monastic Orders among the Brahmanists. The beginning was made, about 800 A.D., by the famous Saiva reformer, Sankara Acharya, and his immediate disciples. They founded the four Saiva Orders, which are known as the Dasanamis ; and these Orders, in their turn, led to the creation of the Vaishnava Orders. All these Brahmanist Societies carried on, among the mass of the people throughout the whole of India, a most effective propaganda in rivalry with the Buddhist and Jain monks. The difference between the two parties of rival monastic Orders ultimately became one of mere scholastic doctrine. In their outward manifestation, so far as it affected the mass of the people with regard to religious worship and social order, they both constituted but one system of Hinduism. Of this system we possess a valuable contemporary account by the celebrated Arab historian, Alberuni, in his *Tahqiqul Hind*, or Indian Research, which he completed in 1031 A.D. As a natural consequence of its development, the old Brahmanism, as well as Buddhism, died out ; neither of them exist any more in India. Hinduism, however, possessed the inherent weakness of being a compromise between two decaying systems. This showed itself particularly in the decay of religion and its forms of worship, and in the ascendancy of the Sakta sect and its religious practices, which consisted mainly in the worship of Saktis, or female deities, and were of a kind that dared not show themselves in the light of day. It is a form of sectarian religion which is still only too widely prevalent, particularly in Bengal, and its influence is only now beginning to wane with the progress of modern enlightenment.

The establishment of Hinduism had another result. The cultivation of Classic Sanskrit literature and philosophy, which had owed its rise to the early fervour of the Brahmanical revival, began to decline

Condition of
Sanskrit
Literature.

in this period. Still, from time to time, we meet with striking exceptions. Thus we have the two great champions of Brahmanism, Kumarila Bhatta, about 725 A.D., and Sankara Acharya, about 800 A.D., who wrote the *Tantra Varttika* and the *Brahmasutra Bhashya*, the standard commentaries respectively on the Mimamsa and Vedanta philosophy. As representatives of light literature we have, about 735 A.D., Bhavabhuti, the greatest dramatist next to Kalidasa, who, among other works, wrote the romantic drama *Malati Madhava*, or the love story of the princess Malati and a young scholar Madhava; about 860 A.D., the poet, Magha, who wrote the epic poem *Sisupalavadha*, or the slaughter of Sisupala by Vishnu; about 910 A.D., the dramatist, Rajasekhara, who wrote several plays of exquisite lightness and grace; and about 1100 A.D., the lyric poet Jaya Deva, the author of the famous *Gitagovinda*, or Song of Krishna's love for Radha. In the first half of the eleventh century specially, as we have already seen, the court of Bhoja Deva, the Parmar king of Malwa, was a great centre of Sanskrit learning. He is himself said to have been a poet, and, like Vishnu Vardhana (Vikramaditya) and Harsha Vardhana, to have delighted in collecting learned men around him.

As the establishment of Hinduism had marked the earlier part of this period, so its later part was distinguished by the introduction of Muhammadanism. The advent of Islam in India was co-incident with a revolting departure from previous methods of warfare. Wholesale massacres of the male population of forts and towns, such as occurred at the time of their capture by Muhammadan armies, were a feature hitherto unknown in purely Indian warfare. Yet it would be wrong to set it down altogether to the account of the faith of the invaders. It was rather due to the fierceness of the natural temperament of the Arab and Turki races who were unable to brook stubborn resistance, and were apt to be carried

The Introduction of Islam.

away beyond all bounds by savage resentment. Massacres in cold blood, or wanton cruelty, cannot be proved in the cases of Muhammad-i-Qasim and Mahmud of Ghazni. On the contrary, there is evidence of much toleration. To those who submitted, liberal terms were granted. Acceptance of the Muhammadan faith was not enforced on the general population, whatever may have been the case with individuals. Apart from the actual moment of conquest, when temples were destroyed or turned into mosques, the institutions of Hindu worship and caste were not interfered with. The Brahmans and their temples were not only tolerated, but even protected, and the Hindu forms of administration were largely retained. All that was exacted from the Hindu population was the payment of the *jizya*, or poll-tax. This, no doubt, was a heavy impost, but, on the other hand, it gave exemption from compulsory military service. Nor did intellectual culture suffer through the change of rulers, except in one point. Wherever Islam became dominant, it was no longer Sanskrit but Arabic and Persian literature and science which enjoyed its patronage. At the very time when Sanskrit letters flourished at the court of King Bhoja Deva of Malwa, the court of Mahmud in Ghazni became a brilliant centre of Persian learning. Two of the best known among the many men of culture whom Mahmud assembled round him, were Alberuni, the eminent chronologist, who has already been mentioned, and who wrote both in Arabic and in Persian, and the poet Firdausi, who wrote the celebrated Persian epic, called the *Shahnama*, or the Book of Kings, the great store-house of the ancient traditions of Persia.

Arabic and Persian Literature.

CHAPTER IX.

The Early Muhammadan Period :

The Muhammadan Conquest, and the Third (First Muhammadan), or Turki Empire.

About 1200—1525 A.D.

THE preceding period has already given us a glimpse of the impending conquest of India by the Turkis. It has shown us how ill-prepared India was to meet that crisis. We have seen it divided into a number of smaller kingdoms, which had portioned among themselves the imperial inheritance, and were fighting with one another for the imperial crown. In the north there were five such kingdoms: those of Bengal, Kanauj, Bundelkhand, Malwa, and Gujarat. Their rulers each claimed to be the rightful "Emperor." Foremost among them was the King of Kanauj, whose claims, as the direct representative of the older empire, were popularly considered the best. But his power was not equal to his pretensions. The Chohan lords of his Western Marches, Delhi and Ajmir, were growing in importance and inclining to throw off the overlordship of Kanauj. Intent upon nursing their mutual jealousies, the kings and chiefs of Northern India failed to detect the danger to their common country that was growing up on its western borders in the rising empire of the Turkis.

**Introductory
Remarks.**

In the midst of Afghanistan, in the mountains of Ghor, to the west of Ghazni, there lived a hardy race of Tajiks, or men of mixed Arab descent, under a chief called Suri. One of his descendants, Alauddin, known as *Jahansoz*, or the World-burner, on account of his ferocity, revolted about 1150 A.D., against his Ghaznavide overlord

**The Muhamma-
dan Conquest.**

and drove him into the Punjab. His nephew, Ghiyasuddin, finally overturned the empire of Ghazni, and founded that of the Ghoris. This happened in 1186 A.D., when Muizuddin, the brother and co-regent of Ghiyasuddin, generally known as Muhammad Ghori, conquered the Punjab, the last remnant of the once powerful Ghaznavide empire. Its province of Sindh had already been annexed by him in 1175 A.D. He now took in hand the conquest of the Hindu kingdoms on his eastern frontier. With a large army of Turkis, Afghans, and Tajiks he set out eastward. Prithiraj, the Chohan lord of the Western Marches, Delhi and Ajmir, assembled all his feudal chiefs with their Rajput levies to meet the attack. Twice the opposing armies met on the same battlefield near Thanesar. The first time, in 1191 A.D., Muhammad Ghori was defeated and retired to Ghazni, but in the following year, 1192 A.D., he returned, and this time totally defeated Prithiraj who was captured and soon afterwards slain. The immediate result of the victory was the capture, in 1193 A.D., of Delhi and Ajmir, and the annexation of their territories. The further prosecution of the conquest was entrusted by Muhammad to his most capable general, Qutbuddin Aibak, a Turki slave. This general first turned his arms against the kingdom of Kanauj, the ruler of which Jaya Chandra, it is said, had refused to come to the assistance of his contumacious vassal, Prithiraj. Jaya Chandra was defeated and slain, in 1194 A.D., in a battle near Etawa, and, as a result, the whole of his kingdom, as far as Benares, fell into the power of Qutbuddin. The latter now despatched Muhammad-i-Bakhtiyar, who held a subordinate command under him, to continue the eastward conquest of the kingdoms of Bihar and Bengal, while he himself undertook the task of reducing to submission the kingdoms of Bundelkhand, Malwa, and Gujarat. In this, however, he was only partially successful. For those three kingdoms maintained themselves in a state of semi-independence down to the time

of the Khalji dynasty, in the beginning of the fourteenth century. By the year 1205 A.D., the conquest of the whole of Northern India was practically completed. In the following year, 1206 A.D., Muhammad Ghori was murdered in his tent beside the Indus by some Musalman heretics, or, as others say, by a band of Hindu Khokhars.

The Ghoride Empire, founded by Muizuddin Muhammad, did not outlast his death.

The Slave Dynasty (1206-1290 A.D.)

It separated into two parts. The western portion, beyond the Indus, passed to his son, while of the eastern portion Qutbuddin Aibak assumed the sovereignty, and thus became the founder of the Third Indian, or First Muhammadan, Empire in India (wrongly called the Pathan). His line, known as that of the Turki Slaves, and comprising ten Sultans, ruled down to 1290 A.D. But the only two important ones, beside himself, are the third, Shamsuddin Altamsh (1210-1236 A.D.), and the tenth, Ghiyasuddin Balban (1266-1287 A.D.). Aibak was only the nominal ruler of Northern India; his actual rule extended no further than Hindustan. In the provinces of Sindh and the Punjab, as well as in Bihar and Bengal, his governors exercised practically independent sovereignty; and the Hindu rulers of Bundelkhand, Malwa, and Gujarat were never fully subjected. Altamsh, a Turki slave and son-in-law of Aibak, was engaged, throughout his long reign of 26 years, in constant wars with his contumacious governors and the irrepressible Rajput kings. When at last, 1235 A.D., he succeeded in making his authority respected, he enjoyed his success only one year, dying in 1236 A.D. Exactly the same state of things repeated itself after his death. Under his immediate successors, in spite of the able, but too short, reign of his daughter Raziyyat, the imperial authority again declined; and Balban, a Turki slave and father-in-law of Mahmud, son of Altamsh, had to go once more through the wearisome process of reconstruction. He performed his task with conspicuous ability,

first, for twenty years, as the all-powerful minister of Mahmud I (1246-1266 A.D.), and then for another twenty years as sovereign in his own right (1266-1287 A.D.). He has earned for himself a reputation for cruelty; and the extreme severity of his treatment of his foes is undeniable. But it only reflected the manners of his time, and though it may not be justified, we can understand it in view of the extreme difficulties of the emperor's position. He had to protect his western frontiers against the repeated inroads of the savage Mughal hordes of Chingis Khan's successors, and within the empire he had to suppress the chronic disaffection of the Hindu chiefs, and keep down the pretensions of his overbearing Turki governors and landholders. All this had to be done at one and the same time: and this sufficiently explains Balban's severity, without which he could not have succeeded as he did. Yet his success did not long survive him. After a feeble reign of three years, his worthless grandson, Kaiqobad, was put to death, in 1290 A.D., by his great officers of state, who conferred the crown on one of themselves, the pious and kindhearted Jalaluddin.

As emperor, Jalaluddin styled himself Firuz Shah II. He was a Turki of the Khalji clan, and his line accordingly is known as the Khalji dynasty. This dynasty reigned for 30 years (1290-1320 A.D.) and comprised six members. Among these there was only one who is of real importance—the third of the line, Alauddin Muhammad I (1296-1316 A.D.). During his long reign of 20 years the Empire attained its greatest power and its widest extent. In his personality and rule we find, in most respects, a curious repetition of Balban. He was as able and as strong as Balban, and even more cruel than he, and like him he re-organized an empire which he had received in a process of disintegration. Having stepped to the throne over the body of his uncle whom he had treacherously murdered, he energetically

**The Khalji
Dynasty (1290-
1320 A.D.)**

set about the reconstruction of the empire. In 1298 A.D., Gujarat was re-conquered, Rajputana in 1300, and Malwa in 1304. The mighty Mughal hordes which in repeated invasions had ventured to advance to the very gates of Delhi, were finally beaten off in 1305 A.D. Intermediately, Muhammad I cruelly suppressed a serious mutiny of his troops and several revolts of his own kinsmen and nobles. At the same time he introduced administrative reforms regulating agriculture and trade, and by these means he effectually secured the stability of his rule. Having accomplished all this, he again put his hand to the ambitious plan of conquering Southern India—a plan which he seems to have cherished from the day of his capture of Devagiri in 1294 A.D. This



Gold Sikandar as-Sani Coin of Muhammad I.

is shown by his assuming the title of *Sikandar as-Sani*, or the second Alexander, on the exceedingly numerous gold and silver coins, which he struck from the plunder of the vast

wealth of that place. He now despatched his general, Malik Kafur, on four expeditions into the Deccan. In these he successively reduced to subjection the Yadavas of Devagiri in 1307 A.D., the Kakatiyas of Warangal in 1310, and the Hoysalas of Dvarasamudra in 1311. He even made a plundering raid as far south as the Malabar coast, near Madura. These expeditions, as we have seen in the preceding chapter, put an end to the old Southern Empire of the Hindus. They raised Muhammad I's reign and the First Muhammadan Empire to the zenith of their glory. The latter empire now rivalled that of the Guptas by embracing nearly the whole of India; but, as was the case with the Gupta Empire, its sway was neither effective nor enduring. South India acknowledged

it only so long as she was overawed by the imperial troops, and the outlying provinces, such as Bengal, respected it hardly more than in name. Muhammad I, whose master-mind alone held the empire together, died of dropsy in 1316 A.D. After him, under his profligate and faithless son Mubarak, there ensued a general breakdown, both internal and external, which culminated in 1320 A.D. in the extraordinary usurpation of the throne by Mubarak's favourite, the utterly depraved and low-caste Hindu, Khusru. A reaction was not long delayed. Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq, the governor of the Punjab, came to the rescue, and defeated and executed the usurper in the same year.

Seeing that the Khalji House had been exterminated by the usurper, Tughlaq himself was called to the throne by the nobles and officers of state. According to Ibn-Batuta he was a Karauna, *i.e.*, of mixed Turki and Indian descent, and he thus

**The Karauna of
Tughlaq-Shahi
Dynasty (1320-
1414 A.D.)**

became the founder of the Karauna or Tughlaq-shahi dynasty which reigned for nearly a century (1320-1414 A.D.) It gave to India, in Muhammad II, the son of Tughlaq (1325-1351 A.D.), the most striking figure among the rulers of the first Muhammadan Empire. He was a man of high culture, great intellect, and indomitable will. His conduct was full of contradictions, acts of extravagant generosity alternating with others of incredible cruelty. Ibn-Batuta, the Arab traveller, who visited his court in 1333 A.D., tells us that "at his gate there might always be seen some faqir whom he had enriched, or the corpse of some one whom he had slain." His mind was that of a genius with a strain of madness. The most striking administrative acts of his reign were the attempted removal, in 1339 A.D., of the capital from Delhi to the more centrally situated Devagiri which he re-named Daulatabad, and the attempted enrichment, in 1327 A.D., of the national exchequer by the introduction of a brass token currency. Both ideas were

excellent in conception. Muhammad II rightly saw that



Brass Token of Muhammad II.

a vast and imperfectly welded empire such as his required a central capital and a well-filled treasury. But the projects were enforced with so little foresight and brought so much suffering on the people, that they utterly failed

and had to be abandoned. When he recognized their failure, Muhammed II was honest enough to frankly abandon them. But the mischief was done ; nor could he repair it by the confirmation of his sovereignty, which he secured, in 1340 A.D., from the Khalifah of Egypt. It resulted in the ruin of the magnificent empire which he had inherited from his father. Bengal in 1339 A.D., and the Deccan in 1347, declared themselves independent ; and when Muhammad II died in 1351 A.D., Oudh, Malwa, Gujarat and Sindh were in revolt. The further disintegration of the empire was for a time averted by the long and prosperous reign of his cousin, Firuz III (1351-1388 A.D.). This mild and pious sovereign made no attempt to recover the lost provinces, but applied himself, with the help of his wise wazir, Maqbul Khan, to the better development of those that still remained to him. His chief measures for this purpose were the abolition of certain oppressive taxes, the construction of the still-existing Great Jumna Canal and other irrigation works, the reclamation of waste lands, and the founding of new towns, colleges, *serais* and other public buildings. On the other hand, the mildness of his rule, combined with his system of granting whole provinces in fief to successful courtiers, directly contributed to the final break-up of the empire, which ensued soon after his death in 1388 A.D. His sons and grandsons, six of whom reigned after him, were unable to maintain their authority over

the viceroys of Oudh, Malwa, Gujarat, and the Western Marches. Between 1394 and 1401, these, one after the other, turned their fiefs into independent kingdoms. They thus reduced the imperial possessions so much that these hardly comprised more than the home province of Delhi, that is the Doab and Rohtak. The general turmoil of the time reached its climax in the fearful invasion of Timur, the celebrated Mughal leader, who captured Delhi in December 1398 A.D. The invasion lasted only six months ; but the incredible devastation which Timur left in his track, earned for him the name of "the Scourge of God."

With the death, in 1412 A.D., of Mahmud II, a grandson of Firuz III, the Empire virtually came to an end. In mere name, it is true, it continued to exist for a little more than another century, but in reality it was now divided into a number of independent kingdoms. These were the territory of Delhi, which nominally represented the Empire, and the kingdoms of Oudh, Malwa, and Gujarat. To them must be added the kingdoms of Bengal and the Deccan, which, as we have seen, had already become separate under Muhammad II.

In 1414 A.D. Khizr Khan, who had been the governor of Multan, took possession of Delhi, and founded the so-called Sayyid dynasty. It numbered four members, whose feeble efforts were limited to keeping a hold on the small territory which still laid claim to the name of "Empire." It was put an end to in 1451 A.D., by Bahlol Lodi, the Afghan governor of Lahore. During his long reign of 38 years he succeeded in re-annexing to the empire the kingdom of Jaunpur. But the revival of its authority did not outlive his reign, and under his son, Ibrahim II, the third and last of the Lodi dynasty, the First Muhammadan Empire was finally extinguished in 1526 A.D., by Babar, who founded the Second Muhammadan Empire of the Mughals.

The Dissolution
of the Third
Empire.

The Kingdom of
Delhi (1414-1526
A.D.)

**The Kingdom of
Oudh-Jaunpur
(1394-1487 A.D.)**

The kingdom of Jaunpur roughly coincided with what is now called Oudh. It had been one of the great fiefs of the empire, whose governor, Malik Sarwar, assumed independence in 1394 A.D., during the troublous time under Firuz III's feeble successors. He



Atala Mosque.

founded the so-called Sharqi, or Eastern, dynasty, which included six members. Only one of these, however, the third of the line, Ibrahim, was of any importance. He greatly extended his borders, and at one time came near to making himself Emperor of Delhi. His long reign of 39 years (1401-1440 A.D.) is distinguish-

ed by the erection of some of the finest specimens of Muslim architecture, such as the Atala Mosque, with which he adorned his capital Jaunpur. After him the dynasty rapidly declined, till, in 1487 A.D., the kingdom was re-annexed to the empire by Buhlol Lodi.

The kingdom of Malwa arose in 1401 A.D., when its governor, Dilawar Khan, said to have been a descendant of the old Ghori emperors, made himself independent.

**The Kingdom of
Malwa (1401-
1530 A.D.)**

The Ghori line, however, was supplanted, in 1436 A.D., by the Khalji dynasty of Mahmud. Under these two dynasties, the kingdom of Malwa, owing to its position between the warring states of Delhi, Jaunpur, and Gujarat, was able to maintain only a precarious

existence, down to 1530 A.D., when it was annexed by the neighbouring kings of Gujarat.

The latter province broke away from the Empire as an independent kingdom about the same time as Oudh and Malwa. Zafar Khan, to whom Firuz III had granted the fief of Gujarat, assumed independence, in 1396 A.D., under the style of Muzaffar I. For nearly two centuries thirteen of his descendants ruled the kingdom, down to 1572 A.D., when it was annexed by Akbar to the Mughal Empire. The greatest among them was Bahadur Shah (1526-1536 A.D.), who annexed the kingdom of Malwa. In 1535 he lost his territories to Humayun, but recovered them in the same year with the assistance of the Portuguese, to whom he ceded the island of Diu.

The Kingdom of Gujarat (1396-1572 A.D.)

The Empire had never had, for any length of time, an effective control over Bengal. Its governors ruled mostly in a state of semi-independence. In 1338 A.D., however, the governor of Eastern Bengal assumed full independence; and in 1339 A.D., the governor of Western Bengal followed his example. Both portions of Bengal were united in 1352 A.D. under the rule of Shamsuddin Ilyas; and his dynasty continued to reign, with a short interruption of about three years, down to 1487 A.D. Thenceforward Bengal was ruled successively by four different dynasties, down to 1577 A.D., when it was annexed by Akbar to the Mughal Empire.

The Kingdom of Bengal (1338-1576 A.D.)

Equally weak was the hold of the Empire on the Deccan. In 1347 A.D., Hasan Gangu, called Bahman Shah, assumed royalty at Khulbarga. His dynasty, known as the Bahmani, reigned for nearly two centuries. Under Muhammad II (1463-1482) the kingdom attained its widest extension, and included the whole of the Deccan north of Mysore. Shortly afterwards, however, it began to fall to pieces, through the several

The Kingdom of the Deccan (1347-1526 A.D.)

provincial governors assuming independence. Thus there arose five new states. These were :—

1. Berar, under the Imad-shahis (1485-1572 A.D.).
2. Ahmadnagar, under the Nizam-shahis (1490-1636 A.D.).
3. Bijapur, under the Adil-shahis (1490-1686 A.D.).
4. Bidar, under the Barid-shahis (1492-1609 A.D.).
5. Golkonda, under the Qutb-shahis (1512-1687 A.D.).

All these states, as we shall see in the next chapter, were ultimately absorbed into the Mughal Empire.

The country to the south of the Bahmani kingdom had attained its independence somewhat earlier. It was about 1336 A.D., some time after the subversion of the Hoysala kingdom by Muhammad I, that a Hindu chief, called Harihara I, was appointed by him to govern a part of the country. About 1343 A.D., having formed a confederacy of Hindu princes, Harihara I expelled the Muhammadans, and greatly enlarged his territory. His nephew, Harihara II, about 1379 A.D., assumed independent royalty, making the newly-founded town of Vijayanagar his capital. He gradually enlarged his kingdom so much that it embraced not only Mysore but also practically the whole of the country to the south of it. For about two hundred years, during which it was ruled by two different Hindu dynasties, it maintained its power in constant warfare with its northern Muhammadan neighbours. At last it was overpowered, in 1565 A.D., in the battle of Talikot, by the combined armies of Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, and Golkonda. But the Muhammadan confederates, divided by mutual jealousy, were unable to annex more than a very small part of the kingdom. The rest of its territory remained in the hands of petty Hindu chiefs, while a representative of the old dynasty removed to Chandragiri, and there founded a new line of petty kings. It was from a member of this

The Hindu Kingdom of Vijayanagar (1339-1565 A.D.)

line that the English received, in 1639 A.D., a grant of the site of Madras.

The establishment of the Bijapur state has a special interest through its connection with the foundation of the Portuguese Eastern Empire. The Portuguese, as will be more fully told in Chapter XI, first arrived in India in 1498 A.D., in which year Vasco da Gama landed in Calicut, the capital of a petty Hindu state. Failing to establish themselves there they proceeded, under the celebrated Admiral Alfonso d' Albuquerque, to Goa, which was comprised in the Bijapur territory. This place was captured by them in 1510 A.D., and henceforth formed the capital of the Portuguese possessions in India.

The Arrival of the Portuguese,

It remains briefly to review the general condition of the people during this period of Turki rule. The form of government was autocratic; the emperor's will was absolute. In theory, no doubt, it was restricted by the equitable principles of Muhammadan law, but there was no means of enforcing on the emperor those restrictions. Whether his rule was benevolent or oppressive depended entirely on his personal character. On the other hand, in either case, it affected equally the Muhammadan and the Hindu; religion made no material difference. Moreover, the arbitrary and oppressive nature of the Turki rule made itself felt principally in relation to those who were in a position to exercise any political influence. The condition of the ordinary population, as we know from contemporary writers, such as the Arab Ibn-Batuta (about 1340 A.D.), and the Italian Nicolo Conti (about 1430 A.D.), was practically free from oppression. Of course, this remark applies more particularly to such benevolent reigns as those of Firuz II of the Khalji and Firuz III of the Karauna dynasties. But the mischief of the despotic Turki rule was that the periods of benevolent reign only served to encourage the numerous Rajput chiefs to attempt

The condition of the People under the Turki Empire,

independence, and the Muhammadan grandees to intrigue against the throne. These, in their turn, necessarily produced reigns of excessive cruelty and oppression such as were those of Muhammad I of the Khalji and Muhammad II of the Karauna dynasties. It was this regular alternation of benevolence and tyranny which caused the ruin of the Turki Empire,

Islam, as we have seen in the last chapter, was introduced only in a limited sense by force. **The spread of Islam.** The Hindu population was offered the choice of conversion or the payment of the poll-tax. In the former case the converts enjoyed the privileges of the ruling class, and it can readily be understood that not a few of the old ruling classes among the Hindus preferred the adoption of the Muslim faith to sinking into the abject position of a subject class. In addition to these Hindu converts, the invading armies themselves gave rise to considerable colonies of Turki and Afghan settlers. Both causes combined explain the large proportion of Musalmans in the population of those parts of India which came under the direct rule of the Turki Empire. Outside its limits, in such provinces as, for example, Rajputana, Bundelkhand and Mysore, where the old Hindu ruling houses continued to exist in semi-independence, the religious and social state of the people remained practically the same as before the Muhammadan conquest. Even in the Empire proper, though the Hindu was regarded with some contempt, he was, ordinarily, not treated with hostility. He was liable to the *jiziya*, but he was not molested in his religion or in his social customs. In fact many Hindus were employed, and rose to high office, in the revenue and accounts departments of the government; and though in civil cases, as a rule, the Muhammadan law was administered by the Qazi, criminal and administrative cases were dealt with by the emperor's officers in accordance with a kind of common law, founded on old Indian custom and the sovereign's discretion. The

prosperity of the country is evidenced by the private and public buildings, irrigation work, bridges, *serais*, and hospitals, which were constructed throughout the empire.

Hinduism, which we saw established in India in the course of the preceding period, naturally declined with the advance of Islam.

**Hinduism and
Sanskrit
Learning.**

It was only in the extreme south, in the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar, beyond the depressing influence of the Muhammadan Empire, that it showed any signs of vigorous life. There we find, about 1350 A.D., the two famous brothers, Madhava and Sayana—both ministers at the Vijayanagar court. The former wrote the *Sarvadarsana Sangraha*, or Compendium of all Speculations, and other philosophical works, while the second was the author of the celebrated commentary on the *Vedas*. To the earlier Chola kingdom in the South, Hinduism owed its eventual revival in Northern India. Ramanuja, the great Vishnava reformer, lived there in the twelfth century, and from him were spiritually descended Ramananda and Chaitanya, the apostles of the two branches of Vaishnavism in Hindustan and Bengal respectively. The former, who lived chiefly at Benares, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, was the zealous propagator of devotion to Rama, while his contemporary, Chaitanya, a Brahman of Nadiya, inspired by the tender sonnets of the famous poet Vidyapati to an enthusiastic cult of Krishna, became the founder of the Vaishnava sect of Bengal. About the same time, one of Ramananda's disciples, Kabir, a weaver of Benares, began to preach a more eclectic form of Hinduism, which by its insistence on simplicity and probity, appealed to both Hindus and Musalmans, and thus gave rise to the wide-spread sect of Kabirpanthis.

Many of the Muhammadan rulers of this period—emperors as well as kings—were great patrons of art and learning. Numerous Persian historians flourished at their

**Muhammadan
Culture.**

courts. Every great reign had its own historian. Among the more prominent literary men may be mentioned Minhajuddin, the historian (about 1240 A.D.), Amir Khusran, the poet (1300 A.D.), and Ibn-Batuta, the traveller (about 1335 A.D.). Some of the most beautiful architectural monuments were erected during this period. Thus in 1235 A.D., the famous Qutb Minar near Delhi was built by Altamsh in memory of the Musalman saint Qutbuddin. In 1418 Ibrahim, the Sharqi king, erected



Tanka of the Emperor Altamsh.

the beautiful Atala Mosque in Jaunpur, and in 1526 A.D., Nasrat Shah of Bengal, built the so-called "Great Golden Mosque" at Gaur. The Emperor Altamsh started a new

Indian currency of broad silver pieces, called Tanka, which are the ancestors of the modern rupee. The empire even gave birth to a new language, the well-known Urdu or Hindustani, which still serves as a kind of *lingua franca* for the most part of India. It arose in the thirteenth century, after the conquest of the old Hindu kingdom of Kanauj, from the vernacular dialect of which it was formed by combination with the Persian language of the Muhammadan conquerors.

CHAPTER X.

The Later Muhammadan Period. :

Section I.

The Fourth Indian, Second Muhammadan, or Mughal, Empire,

About 1526—1803 A.D.

IT has already been mentioned that in 1399 Timur invaded India. He did not, however, gain any territories. It was left for one of his descendants to establish a glorious empire such as had never yet been in Hindustan. This descendant was Babar.

Babar, 1526-1530.—Babar, *i.e.*, the Lion, was born in 1482, and was the sixth in descent from Timur. When he was only twelve years of age his father died, and he began to rule the small kingdom of Farghana on the

Babar.



Emperor Babar.

Yaxartes, 1494. He conquered Samarkhand in 1497, and was made ruler of Kabul in 1504. Daulat Khan Lodi, the Governor of the Punjab, unable to resist Ibrahim Lodi II of Delhi single-handed, invited Babar to come to his assistance. Accordingly in 1526, at the head of a large army, Babar entered India with his son, Humayun; defeated Ibrahim Lodi II. in the First Battle of Panipat; seized the

throne of Delhi, and put an end to the Lodi dynasty. The brave Rajputs of Chittor, under Rana Sangram Sinha of Mewar, tried to drive him out of India, but they were defeated in the battle of Fatehpur Sikri near Agra, 1527. Babar died in 1530, shortly after he had subdued Bihar, and before he could introduce a system of government. The provinces which he acquired in India were bound together merely by the fact that they belonged to a common master.

Humayun, 1530-1556.—Babar was succeeded by his son Humayun, the story of whose reign, however, belongs mainly to Kabul. As soon as he came to the throne, he had to give up that kingdom and Western Punjab to his brother Kumran. He was thus cut off from the land of his fathers, while at the same time he had powerful enemies to encounter in India. Chief among these was Sher Khan, the Afghan jagirdar of Saseram in Bihar. Making himself master of Bihar, Jaunpur, and parts of Bengal and Oudh, he finally defeated Humayun at Kanauj (1540). Unable to continue the struggle, Humayun fled to Persia, and on the way a son—the famous Akbar—was born to him at Amarkot in Sindh. Having established his supremacy in the tract of country lying between the Narbada and the Himalayas, Sher Khan proclaimed himself emperor under the name of Sher Shah, and set up the Sur dynasty. His own reign lasted from 1540 to 1545, and he ruled over the Punjab, Bihar, Marwar, Chittor, and Bengal. His administration was based upon the principle of unity. He rendered life and property secure by putting down all violent crime; and though his subjects feared to oppose his will, he did not oppress the Hindus. He divided his territories into many parganahs in order that they might be properly administered. Between Bengal and the north-west

Humayun and the expulsion of the Mughals.

Sher Khan's Empire, administration and Character.

frontier he had many roads made, and along them he had trees planted, wells dug, rest-houses and mosques built. He introduced a system of post for the conveyance of letters. The law of Islam he replaced by a civil and criminal code of his own. He died of injuries received in the storming of Kalinjar (1545). On the whole he was a good ruler, and his occasional treachery and self-will were redeemed by the good government he bestowed on his subjects.

His son, Islam Shah, succeeded him, and ruled for nine years (1545-1554), and the throne then passed to Muhammad Adil Shah.

**Restoration of
the Mughals.**

This king left all real power in the hands of the Hindu Wazir, Hemu. Naturally rebellions arose. Ibrahim Sur seized Delhi and Agra, but he did not long enjoy his new possessions, for they were taken from him by Sikandar Sur who had already proclaimed himself king in the Punjab. News of all this and of other rivalries, reached Humayun in Persia, and he regarded it as a favourable opportunity to try to win back India for himself. Accordingly, in 1555, he returned with his son, Akbar, and a large army which he had received from Shah Tahmasp, the Shah of Persia. He retook Kabul, but as the country was not quelled he entrusted the campaign against Sikandar Sur in the Punjab to Akbar and his Ataliq, Bairam Khan. The young prince, however, had to give up his operations against Sikandar, in order that he might check Hemu, the former Wazir of Muhammad Adil Shah, who was marching on Agra with a large army, ostensibly in the interests of the Sur dynasty. By the time Akbar reached Jalandhar, Hemu had taken Agra, an advantage which he improved by occupying Delhi, where he proclaimed himself Raja. Akbar hastened on to Delhi: defeated Hemu in the Second Battle of Panipat (5th Nov. 1556), and recovered Agra. This done, with Bairam Khan, he turned upon Sikandar Sur, and eventually became master of the Punjab. Thus was the

Mughal dynasty restored to power in Hindustan, and Humayun sat on the throne from which, sixteen years previously, he had been driven. But he was not to reign long. Within six months he slipped, on the marble steps of his palace in Delhi, and died from the injuries he received. Akbar was at Kalanaur in pursuit of the vanquished Sikandar when tidings reached him of his father's death, and he returned to Delhi.

Akbar, 1556-1605.—When he came to the throne, Akbar was only sixteen years of age ; but he had already commanded troops, and been at the head of public affairs. His Ataliq, Bairam Khan, seems to have kept a strict hand



Emperor Akbar.

over him. This the spirited prince resented, and as soon as he attained the age of twenty he took over the government from Bairam Khan who had hitherto ruled in his name. This displeased Bairam Khan. He revolted ; was defeated ; and pardoned. He set out on a pilgrimage to Mecca ; but was killed on the way by an Afghan whose father he had put to death.

Having established himself upon the throne, Akbar now began to con-

solidate his empire. Up to 1567 he was occupied in settling his eastern territories around Allahabad, Benares, and Lucknow. Then he took Mewar from Udai Singh, a Rajput chief.

Conquests in Hindustan and the Deccan.

To cement a friendship with these brave people, he married two Rajput princesses, one of whom became the mother of Jahangir. In 1572 Gujarat was annexed, and Akbar found himself master of Western India. Broach and Surat were next added to his kingdom. Thus in the eighteenth year of his reign Akbar ruled over Kabul, the Punjab, North-Western India, Western India and Central India. Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa were still independent under Daud Khan, a king of Afghan birth. Akbar determined that they should form part of his empire, and so he led his army to Patna. The city fell, and all Bihar became his. Daud was pursued as far as Cuttack, and Bengal too acknowledged the rule of Akbar. Daud again revolted in 1577, was put to death, and Orissa passed into Akbar's hands. Revolts, however, took place in this and in various other parts of the country till 1580; but from that date till 1586 there was



Akbar's Gold Medal commemorating the Fall of Asirgarh.

practically peace within the empire. Akbar next took Kathiwar, Sindh and Kashmir. Later on, in 1600, in order to secure his southern frontier, he annexed the province of Kandesh and a portion of Berar in

the northern part of the Deccan. In Kandesh he captured the famous rocky fortress of Asirgarh, and in Berar, the celebrated stronghold of Ahmadnagar, where the warlike queen, Chand Bibi, made a stubborn resistance. In the closing years of his reign his son, Salim, afterwards known as the Emperor Jahangir, rebelled; but was forgiven. Akbar died in 1605, at the age of 63 years.

Akbar was above all things bent upon consolidating his empire. He felt that, if there was ever to be rest and peace in the land, there must be only one master in it. He determined to be that master. So he waged

Akbar's Military System and Administration

war on his neighbours, and annexed territory after territory, in order that he might ultimately establish peace. His possessions north of the Vindhya Range were divided into twelve provinces, each under a viceroy who was responsible solely to the emperor. Subordinate to the viceroy were local military officers, called *fauj-dars*, who performed the duties of chiefs of police and of military commanders. The portion of the empire south of the Vindhya Range was similarly divided into six provinces. As soon as he gained a new tract of country he tried to win the good will of its people by respecting their religion, and by arranging marriages between the daughters of the conquered Houses and the princes of his Court. To the influential men of newly-acquired countries were given important offices in the army and government. To surround himself with a body of loyal nobles, drawn from every race, he established a feudal aristocracy, called *maasab-dars*. They enjoyed their salaries, or grants of lands, at the emperor's pleasure and in return rendered him military service. Moreover, the families of the conquered were not allowed to be sold into slavery. By such measures he converted enemies into allies, and robbed defeat of much of its bitterness. He withdrew the *jiziya*, and abolished all taxes on Hindu pilgrims, as well as all inland tolls. And although in courts of justice the law rested on the Q'ran, mercy always tempered justice. He tolerated all religions, for he felt that there was some truth in every Faith. He examined all creeds, and taking from each what he thought good and true, he made the Din-i-Ilahi, or the Divine Faith, of which he was the head. The learned in his court met week by week in the Ibadat Khana to discuss questions on religion, politics, and philosophy. Thus Akbar was far-sighted in his policy. Instead of driving his adversaries to desperation by the severity of his measures, he reconciled them to their defeat by letting them practise the religion and customs of their forefathers so long as they recognised in him

their sole and paramount ruler. And so successfully did he gain the loyal adherence of various castes and creeds, that during his reign India was free from foreign invasions and enjoyed a season of internal tranquillity.

Akbar rewarded merit in Hindus no less than in Muhammadans. To Bhagwan Das, Man Singh, Todar Mall, Jhi Mall and Birbal—all Hindus—he gave high commands in his army and influential

Some celebrated men of Akbar's Court.

places at his court. Moreover, he encouraged learning. And during his reign such Sanskrit works as the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* were translated into Persian. The two brothers, Faizi and Abul Fazl, were his intimate friends. Faizi was a poet, and had a valuable library of manuscripts. Abul Fazl wrote in the *Akbar Namah*, a history of Akbar's reign. Badauni wrote his *Muntakhahab-ut-Tawariq* which gives us an account of Akbar's religious views, as also sketches of the famous men of his reign.

Akbar reformed the way in which the taxes of his empire were gathered. Before his reign it had been the rule for the governors to gather the taxes of their own provin-

Akbar's Revenue System.

ces, pay themselves and their army, and then send the balance to the emperor at Delhi. Under the advice of his great Hindu minister, Todar Mall, all taxes were now paid into the Royal Treasury at Agra, so that all payments might be made from there. The empire was divided into fifteen *subhas* or provinces, each of which had a governor to maintain the peace, and a *diwan* to

collect the revenue. That the rents paid for land might be fair, he had the country surveyed, and he took rent in money instead of



Akbar's Coin.

in grain. The taxes and land revenue of 1594 gave him an income of £36,000,000 which at the present rate of exchange is Rs. 545,000,000.

Akbar attempted reforms also in social matters. He would not allow people to be tortured to extract a confession; he forbade animal sacrifices and child marriage. He made widow-marriage lawful, and although he could not stop *Sati*, he commanded that the widow was not to be forced to burn herself with her husband's corpse.

Jahangir, 1605-1628.—Salim, the favourite son of Akbar, succeeded his father, and assumed the title of Jahangir, that is to say, the Conqueror of the World. He formed a striking contrast to his father, being wilful, indolent and self-indulgent. His temper was violent and uncertain. He was prone to be arbitrary. He was addicted to strong drink, but could abstain from it when occasion demanded sobriety. As he grew older and approached the end of his reign his habits improved. The change in his character was largely due to the influence which his beautiful wife, Nur Jahan (The Light of the World),

His Character.
Nur Jahan.



Coin of Jahangir and Nur Jahan.

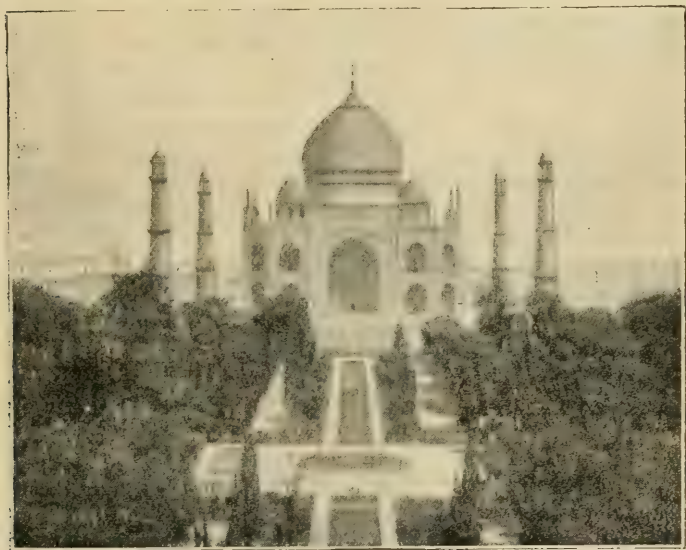
had on him. For the greater part of his reign, with the help of her brother, Asaf Khan, she practically ruled the empire. This was possible because Jahangir was too fond of wine and

too indolent to trouble himself with the weighty matters of government. He openly recognised his queen's share in the administration of affairs, by placing her name on the coins of the realm. In 1628 his revenue from land was Rs. 295,200,000.

In 1615 King James I. of England sent Sir Thomas

Embassy of Sir Roe as ambassador to the Mughal court of Delhi. He was received with much courtesy by Jahangir, but he entirely failed in the object of his mission—to secure protection against the exactions of Mughal officials.

Jahangir had sufficient good sense to continue his father's policy of religious toleration. On the whole the earlier part of his reign was peaceful and prosperous ; but later on the question of succession stirred up jealousy and hatred in his sons.



THE TAJ MAHAL.

Shah Jahan, 1628-1658.—Shah Jahan, who succeeded to the throne, was in the main a kind and just man. Throughout his reign the Deccan was disturbed by wars and rebellions. In 1635 he compelled

Attempted Conquest of the Deccan.

the Adil Sahi king of Bijapur to pay a large annual tribute, and a year later annexed the Nizam Shahi kingdom of Ahmadnagar. He then deputed his son, Aurangzeb, to wage war against Bijapur and Golkonda. Meanwhile the English, who had come in 1600, were extending their trade, and in 1640 they made a factory for themselves at Hughli.

**Shah Jahan
founds New Delhi
and adorns Agra
with noble Build-
ings.**

Shah Jahan was fond of pomp and show. He adorned Agra with many noble buildings. He founded New Delhi, and there erected the Jumma Masjid—one of the largest and most beautiful mosques in Asia, the Diwan-i-Am, or



Jumma Masjid.

Hall of Public Audience, and the Diwan-i-Khas or Hall of Private Audience. In the Diwan-i-Am he placed the famous Peacock throne. It was made of gold, and was set with so many precious stones that it was worth an enormous sum of money. It

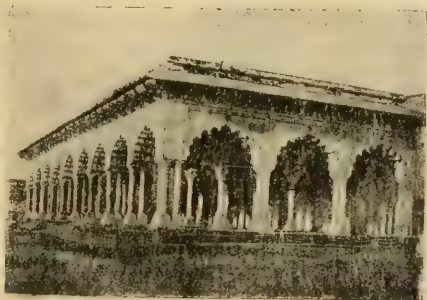
is now in the Shah's palace at Teheran.

At Agra he built the Moti Masjid, and the Taj Mahal. The Taj is over the grave of his wife Mumtaz Mahal. It is one of the most beautiful buildings in the world, being overlaid with white marble. In 1655 his land revenue yielded Rs. 450,000,000.

When Shah Jahan became feeble through old age, he practically retired from public life and committed public affairs to his eldest son, Dara. But this prince's brothers, Shuja, Aurangzeb, and Murad, were not

**Civil War among
his Sons.**

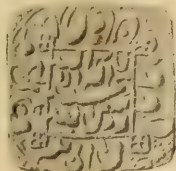
prepared to let him ascend the throne without making a bid for it themselves. Murad proclaimed himself king in Gujarat, and with the assistance of Aurangzeb routed the imperial forces near Ujjain. But Aurangzeb all the time had his own scheme in hand. He suddenly made Murad captive; seized the palace; placed himself on the throne; and



Diwan-i-Am.

sent his aged father, Shah Jahan, to prison, where he was kindly treated till his death in 1666. Dara and Murad were put

to death. Shuja, who during the scrimmage for supreme power had declared himself king in Bengal, was defeated at Agra,



Gold Coin of Shah Jahan.

and escaping to Arakan was never heard of again. Having thus established himself upon the throne, Aurangzeb removed the capital of his empire from Agra to New Delhi.

A French Doctor, Francois Bernier, about this time resided at Delhi where he was physician to the Emperor Aurangzeb. He travelled from place to place, and on his return to Europe he published an account of all he had seen during his stay in India, and a full and graphic description of the Courts of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb.

Bernier.



Aurangzeb (or Alamgir I.), 1658-1707.—As a young man Aurangzeb had taken a conspicuous part in his father's government. When only eighteen years old he had been employed as governor of the Deccan; but he had resigned the appointment to become a hermit. The attractions of asceticism, however, had quickly faded, and within a year he had re-entered his father's service as governor of Gujarat. Then from 1647 to 1652 he had been engaged in expeditions into Balkh and Kandahar. The campaigns, though unsuccessful, had afforded him a military training, in consequence of which he had next been set to the task of reducing the kingdoms of Golkonda and Bidar in the Deccan. In this he succeeded, being helped by Mir Jumla the Wazir of Golkonda. He was occupied with the conquest of Bijapur, the capital of the Adil Shahi kingdom, when his father's illness compelled him to leave it to the tender mercies of Sivaji, in order that he himself might enter upon the fratricidal struggle which gave him the throne.

Aurangzeb's
share in Shah
Jahan's Gov-
ernment.

Encouraged by the withdrawal of the Mughal troops from Bijapur, Sivaji became more daring, and began to raid even the emperor's territories in the Deccan. Success smiled upon him for a time. He defeated

War with the
Marathas in
the Deccan.

Aurangzeb's army at Poona, and requited his known bigotry by sacking Surat, "the Gate of Pilgrimage to Mecca." But eventually the tide of war turned against the Maratha chieftain, and he had to sue for peace. He surrendered several of his forts, and his professions of submission were rewarded with the viceroyalty of the Deccan. He actually proceeded to Delhi to pay homage to the Emperor. But Aurangzeb treated him slightly, and the "mountain rat" in indignation escaped to his fort in the Western Ghats, more determined than ever to be an implacable enemy. He accordingly resumed hostilities, and so prospered, that the Emperor

was compelled to acknowledge him as a Raja, and to pacify him with an extensive *jagir* in Berar. But the love of adventure and plunder was too strong in Sivaji for him long to lead a peaceful life. He soon summoned his followers and pillaged Surat, Khandesh, and Broach, enriching himself with *chaut* (*i.e.*, one-fourth of the revenues) as he went along. Death, however, now cut short his career, and his son, Sambhaji continued to harass the Mughal Emperor. Aurangzeb finally decided that his own presence in the Deccan was needed before the Marathas could be repressed, and so he proceeded thither to take command of his troops. He pursued his enemies through the Konkan. But it was not of much use. The Marathas never fought a pitched battle. Their plain was suddenly to fall upon unsuspecting foes, scatter them, and overspread the country, burning, pillaging and destroying all that came in their way. As unexpectedly as they appeared so suddenly they dispersed, and gathered again in their mountain recesses. Deprived of all means of direct retaliation, Aurangzeb decided upon crippling their resources by annexing Golkonda and Bijapur which paid them tribute. Both kingdoms were accordingly annexed, and their Adil Shahi and Qutb Shahi dynasties came to an end. The Maratha cause was not now prospering; but worse was in store, for in 1689 Sambhaji fell into the Emperor's hands, and was put to death. Still the Marathas were far from crushed. For seventeen years longer they continued to be a thorn in Aurangzeb's side, and, indeed, when he died in 1707 he was still in harness, vainly trying to hunt them down from their rocky retreats. It was during this struggle, in 1690, that he granted the English land at Sutanati, our modern Calcutta.

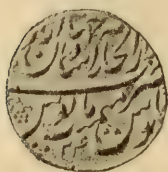
As will presently be more fully explained, Aurangzeb was a bigoted Muhammadan. His persecution of the Hindus alienated them from him, and drove the Rajputs into rebellion. Not satisfied with re-imposing the *Jiziya*, in his fanatical zeal for the spread of his own Faith, he

attempted to get possession of the two sons of Jeswant Singh, the Rajput Maharaja of Marwar. He wished to have them educated at Delhi, and presumably brought up as Musalmans. The Rajputs were infuriated at this, and not only refused to pay the tax, but also hid the princes. Thereupon Aurangzeb marched upon Rajputana, where the states of Udaipur (Mewar) and Jodhpur (Marwar) offered him armed resistance. What made their opposition the more bitter was that the Emperor's son, Akbar, joined them. But Aurangzeb contrived to make it appear that the prince was a traitor in their camp, and the luckless youth, thus outwitted by his father, had to seek safety in flight to the Deccan. The Delhi army ravaged Udaipur; but, as all his attention was called for in the Deccan, Aurangzeb willingly made peace. No treaty, however, could heal the wounded feelings of the Rajputs, and all Rajputana—save only Jaipur which had sided with the Emperor—continued in a state of perpetual revolt even long after Aurangzeb's death.

To understand Aurangzeb's statemanship it is necessary to remember that he was an intolerant Muhammadan of the Sunni sect. He was a pronounced Image-Breaker, and the relentless persecutor of all who belonged to a different Faith. The result was that his religious zeal wrecked his kingdom. Instead of adopting the conciliatory policy of Akbar, or the good-natured indifference of Jahangir, or the splendid magnificence of Shah Jahan, he pulled down Hindu temples, and on their sites, and with their materials, he raised Muhammadan mosques. Not satisfied with this assertion of his own religion, he revived the hated *jiziya*, and re-imposed taxes on Hindu pilgrims. In 1697 his revenue, from all sources, amounted to Rs. 1,350,000,000. The strength of Akbar's government lay in his policy of uniting naturally hostile elements into a peaceful organism. Aurangzeb began the disintegration of the

**Character and
Policy of
Aurangzeb.**

Mughal dynasty by resolving that organism once more into its antagonistic constituents. A contemporary Muhammadan historian wrote : "Every plan that he formed came to little good ; every enterprise failed"—failed because the Emperor had not the good will of his subjects. When he lay dying there was disorder in the north ; the Marathas were making a desert of the Deccan ;



Aurangzeb's Coin.

the Rajputs were in open rebellion ; the Jats had taken up arms near Agra ; the Sikhs were turbulent in Multan ; and the imperial army was ready to mutiny for arrears of pay. He

meant to be a righteous and impartial ruler, but he was blinded by his bigotry. He trusted no one ; and no one loved him. He was obliged to protect himself by maintaining a large standing army, and by surrounding himself with a host of civil officers and retainers, who owed their all to him. And even in this his method differed from Akbar's policy. Whereas the latter had secured the loyal adhesion of Hindu Chiefs and nobles by giving them responsible and honourable posts in his army and government, Aurangzeb showered his favours only upon Muslims of low and obscure origin. He made them *mansabdars* or Amirs, and gave them grants of land and handsome incomes. In return they were bound, in feudal fashion, to supply the Emperor with soldiers in time of war : otherwise they were free to do their own pleasure. With no restraining power to hold them in check, they exacted money from their hapless tenants, whom they cruelly oppressed. The peasants and labouring classes lived in constant fear. They buried their money ; wore scanty clothing ; and lived in mean dwellings so as not to excite the greed of the Amir who ruled them. And thus it was that while the

Emperor piously dispensed strict justice at Delhi, corruption and misery prevailed in the land. The empire had not fixed its roots in the hearts of the people. It could have no stability, and it had none. By an iron will Aurangzeb, the most powerful of all the Mughals, had ruled over more extensive possessions and commanded larger armies than Akbar; but when he died, the empire, which had already in his old age begun to slip from his hands, passed to a line of degenerate successors who had not that genius which alone could save it from ruin.

The death of Aurangzeb was as usual the signal for rivals to contend for the vacant throne.

Muazzam brushed aside his younger brothers and had himself crowned as Bahadur Shah. But he had entered

The Emperors
after Aurangzeb.
Bahadur Shah.

upon a thorny way. He had to deal with the Marathas, who were still warring in the Deccan. But they were not now united, for a rivalry had sprung up among them for the chief Command. One of the claimants to that distinction, Sahu, son of Sambhaji, was a captive of the Mughals. Bahadur Shah restored him to liberty on the condition that he would not disturb the peace of Delhi; and the Marathas in fighting out their own differences ceased to be a danger to the empire. Bahadur Shah next pacified the Rajputs, and for the time being checked the Sikhs who, to avenge the murder of Guru Govinda Singh at the Mughal court, now raided the Punjab as far as Lahore and Delhi. He was succeeded by Jahan-dar, Farukhsiyar, and Muhammad Shah (1719-1748). But they were mere tools in the hands of two nobles, the Sayyid brothers, Abdulla and Husain Ali, who played the part of King-Makers. Meanwhile the empire was crumbling to pieces.

Of the provinces that had been taken by the Mughals, the Deccan and Oudh were the first to free themselves of the Delhi court. From 1720-1748, the Deccan

The break-up
of the Mughal
Empire,

was ruled over by the Nizam-ul-Mulk, while the governor of Oudh made himself master of Oudh (1732-1743). The Sikhs had already tried to throw off the yoke (1710-1716), but had failed. However, Rajputana and Jodhpur became free by 1750. Sahu, the grandson of Sivaji, strengthened himself in the fort of Satara, and wrung *chaut* and *sirdesmukhi* from the Deccan, Gujarat, Malwa (1743), and Orissa (1751), and tribute from Bengal (1751).

The Mughal Empire which had been much weakened by these losses, now received a death-blow from enemies that came from other lands. The first of these was Nadir Shah of Persia. He made up his mind to enrich himself by robbing the Mughals at Delhi. Getting his soldiers together, he marched through the mountain passes into the Punjab without meeting with any opposition till he reached Kurnal, when he defeated the Mughal troops (1738), and obtained the surrender of Muhammad Shah. He made this Emperor, a grandson of Bahadur Shah, join him and march with him to Delhi. Its citizens created a riot and killed some of the Persian troopers. Nadir thereupon let his soldiers massacre the inhabitants of Delhi, and the Emperor's money and jewels, the glorious peacock throne, the wealth of the nobles, and the goods of the common people were plundered. Nadir had now gained his object, and, that being so, he was willing to return with the booty he had taken. But before leaving India he made a show of being very kind to Muhammad. He made a treaty with him, and put him on the throne of Delhi. He told the nobles that he would avenge any disloyalty to the Emperor whom he had set up. But he really wanted the Koh-i-Nur, a great diamond which Muhammad wore on his head; and so he ended the farce of enthroning the unhappy Mughal by exchanging turbans with him. He then returned to Persia.

After a few years the Marathas revolted under

Baji Rao. On his death, his work was carried on by his son, Balaji. The latter took *chaut* from Bengal, and won Malwa (1743) and Orissa (1751) from the Mughals. In 1747 Ahmad Shah Abdali, who ruled after Nadir Shah at Kandahar, made his first inroad into India, but was beaten off. In 1751 he again invaded Hindustan, and took the Punjab from his namesake, the Emperor Ahmad Shah. The Rohillas rose against the latter and defeated his forces. Then he was dethroned (1754), and Alamgir II was crowned in his stead. In 1757 Delhi was again sacked by Ahmad Shah, and now, in 1759, Alamgir II was murdered by his wazir, Ghaziuddin. In his fourth invasion (1759) Ahmad Shah Abdali carried off whatever wealth Nadir Shah had left. After which he returned home, having shattered the Mughal Empire. The Marathas meanwhile had conquered a portion of Northern India, and had taken Delhi. Ahmad Shah Abdali, however, led a large army of forty-thousand Afghans against them. The two armies met at Panipat (1761), and the third battle of that name was fought. The Maratha Confederacy was signally defeated. Ahmad Shah Abdali then returned to Afghanistan, leaving Ghaziuddin to rule for him at Delhi, and the true heir to the Mughal throne, Shah Alam II, was sent into exile. Meanwhile the British, under Clive, had gained power in the land. In 1765 Shah Alam II had granted the East India Company the *Diwani* of Bengal and Bihar, and had placed himself under British protection. Till 1771 he lived at Allahabad as their pensioner. He then allied himself with the Marathas, who restored to him part of his kingdom. But they really kept him prisoner at Delhi till Lord Lake broke their power in the Second Maratha War, and set the captive emperor at liberty. He was given a pension which was continued to his son Akbar II and to his grandson Muhammad Bahadur Shah. Akbar

Marathas
exact Chaut.

Invasions of
Ahmad Shah
Abdali.

Closing years
of the Mughal
Empire.

II reigned only in name from 1806 to 1837. His successor, Muhammad Bahadur Shah, the last of Timur's line, joined the rebels in the Sepoy Mutiny (1857), and was exiled to Rangoon, where he died in 1862. Thus ends the history of the once glorious Empire of Delhi.

Section II.

The Rise and the Fall of the Marathas.

WHILE Shah Jahan reigned at Delhi, the Marathas were growing into power. In chapter VI they have been referred to under their original name Rathiyas. They lived in the table-lands of the Deccan, and on the mountains and plains of the Konkan. But their dominions expanded until they included Orissa, Malwa, Nagpur, Kandesh, the Berars, the Nizam's Dominions, and the Konkan from Goa to the Gulf of Cambay. They had been subdued by the early Muhammadan invaders of India, and from the reign of Akbar to that of Aurangzeb part of Maharashtra was subject to the Mughal Empire, while the rest of it was ruled over by the Muhammadan kings of Ahmadnagar and Bijapur. They became powerful under Shaji Bhonsla, a daring chief who owned forts at Poona and Junir. In 1634 he aided Ahmadnagar and Bijapur against the Mughals. His son, Sivaji, succeeded him ; and by his talents as a soldier, he made the Mughals respect the Marathas.

The Rise of the Marathas.

Sivaji was born in 1627. From his very boyhood he joined in plunder and bloodshed. At the age of sixteen he was already the leader of a band of robbers, and had set himself to repair his father's mountain forts. From these he used to attack the dwellers of the plains, plunder them, or take *chaut* and tribute, and then return to his mountain fastnesses. The Sultan of Bijapur at last sent a powerful army under Afzal Khan against him. Sivaji pretended to be humbled. He begged for pardon, and promised to become an ally. He asked for a friendly meeting with Afzal Khan, so that he might make peace with him. The General fixed the

Sivaji.

time and place of meeting. Sivaji came to the spot at the right time. He assumed penitence: but while speaking to him, he suddenly killed Afzal Khan with a weapon which he had hidden in his clothes. Without delay the Marathas fell on the soldiers of Bijapur, and, having no leader, they were beaten. In 1664 Sivaji sacked Surat. Two years later he made himself Raja, and began to coin money. But the tide of war turned against him; he lost several of his fortresses, and was glad to come to terms with Aurangzeb. He went to Delhi to pay homage to the Emperor who had made him Viceroy of the Deccan. But when he got there, he found that he was really a prisoner. He, however, contrived to escape, and raised a revolt in the Deccan. After giving much trouble to the Mughals he went back to his capital at Rajgarh. Here he enthroned himself with great pomp. He weighed himself against gold, and divided the precious metal among the Brahmans of his court. The English sent him costly gifts from Bombay, and, when he raided the Karnatic in 1675, the French paid him a large sum of



Sivaji's Fort at Rajgarh.

money to be left in peace. The last years of his reign were spent in fighting for, or against, the Mughals according as it suited him. He died in 1680, and was succeeded by his son, Sambhaji, (1680-1689), who was a weak prince, and altogether unfit to rule. He was often at war with the Portuguese and the Mughals. At last he fell into the hands of Aurangzeb, who put him to death. His son, Sahu, a child of six years, was kept captive till the death of Aurangzeb. He was then set free on promising not to take up arms against the Emperor (1707). He was crowned at Satara. But a childhood spent in the royal harem at Delhi, had taken away from him all manliness and love of power. Although he was Raja in name, all real power was in the hands of his Brahman minister, Balaji Vishwanath, who was called Peshwa. So powerful did the Peshwa become, that in the reigns of the heirs of Sahu, the Peshwa's power passed from father to son. Sahu's generals gained much territory, but he himself went mad, and the Peshwa thenceforth appropriated the kingly functions. Finally, when Sahu died in 1748, his son was thrown into prison by the Peshwa, who moved the capital from Satara to Poona, and himself reigned there.

Sambhaji and Sahu,

Balaji Bishwanath, 1712-1721, was an exceedingly able man. It will be remembered that the six successors of Aurangzeb were mere toys in the hands of two powerful nobles, and were set upon the throne, or removed from it as these pleased.

The first Peshwa, Balaji Vishwanath. 1712-1721,

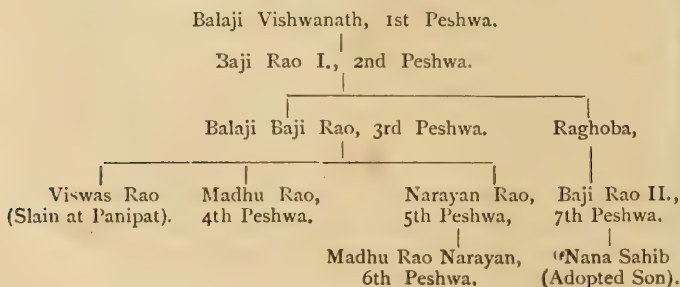
Thus when Balaji Vishwanath took up the government for Sahu, Sayyid Husain Ali and Sayyid Abdullah were playing the part of "King-Makers" with respect to the Mughal Empire of Delhi; and when they promoted Muhammad Shah to the throne in 1719, they were opposed by a combination of other nobles. To Balaji Vishwanath this seemed a favourable opportunity to

push forward Maratha interests, and he accordingly led an army to Delhi in support of Sayyid Husain. In return, he received, in 1720, the right to *chaut* from the Deccan, and control of the districts from Poona to Satara.

Baji Rao 1., 1721-1740, succeeded his father and acquired for himself the distinction of being the greatest of all the Peshwas. He entered upon a war against the Emperor Muhammad Shah, and wrested from him all Malwa and the tract of country between the Narbada and the Chambal. He overthrew the Nizam-ul-Mulk who came from the Deccan to the assistance of the Emperor, and made him pay a penalty of fifty lakhs of rupees. He then raised his hand against the Portuguese on the west coast, and took Bassein from them. His next effort was in the direction of winning the Deccan; but its Nizam at Haidarabad was more than a match for him, and he was obliged to come to terms with him.

Balaji Baji Rao, 1740-1761, occupied his years of office with three wars—two against Salabat Jang, the

THE HOUSE OF THE PESHWAS,



Nizam of Haidarabad, and the third against the Afghan invader, Ahmad Shah Abdali. In the first of these wars the Nizam, with the help of French troops under Bussy, defeated the Marathas ; but in the end the Nizam had to cede much territory to the Peshwa. Eight years later Salabat Jang attempted to take Ahmadnagar from the Marathas ; but his expedition failed, and he suffered a severe defeat at Udgir, and lost to the enemy all the north-western portion of his kingdom. Meanwhile the Peshwa's brother, Raghoba, invaded the Punjab (1758) which the Afghan king, Ahmad Shah Abdali, had recently wrested from the Mughal emperor. The several Maratha chiefs, who had combined, as will be presently detailed, into a powerful confederacy with the Peshwa as its head, stood by Raghoba. The anger of Ahmad Shah Abdali was roused, and he came with a powerful army to punish the insolence of the Marathas. The Peshwa was down in the South fighting with the Nizam, and so Ahmad Shah had no difficulty in defeating the combined forces of Sindhia and Holkar in the Third Battle of Panipat, 1761. But the Maratha chiefs made another and more determined effort to withstand the invader, and secured the assistance of 200,000 Pindaris. It was, however, of no avail. They experienced a still more signal defeat, and their prospects of becoming the paramount power in India were considerably diminished.

In the preceding paragraph mention has been made of a confederacy of Maratha chiefs. They were :

1. The Peshwa, whose capital was at Poona. He made himself supreme in Satara and Kolhapur where the descendants of Sivaji held nominal sway. The Treaty of Bassein in 1802, and the annexation of Satara by Lord Dalhousie in 1848, put an end to the House of the Peshwas.
2. Sindhia, Raja of Gwalior.

The Third Peshwa, Balaji Baji Rao. 1740 to 1761.

The Maratha Confederacy.

3. Holkar, Raja of Indore, and a rival of Sindhia.
4. Bhonsla, Raja of Berar, the Karnatic and Orissa. His capital was at Nagpur in the Central Provinces. His kingdom was annexed by Lord Dalhousie in 1853.
5. Damaji Gaekwar, Raja of Baroda.

A short account may here be given of how these chiefs came into existence. It has been seen that the Peshwa Balaji Vishwanath supplanted the House of Sivaji. By the time Balaji Baji Rao ruled at Poona four viceroys had been appointed to collect the revenues of Berar, Gujarat and Malwa. But the temptation to rule in their own rights was too strong, and eventually Sindhia and Holkar, dividing Malwa between them, became independent rulers at Gwalior and Indore. Similarly Bhonsla and Damaji Gaekwar set themselves upon the thrones of Berar and Gujarat. While professing allegiance to the Peshwa, they practically neglected to take him into account, and framed their own laws and entered upon hostilities with one another or their neighbours. Had these chieftains held together, they would have formed a powerful combination. But, unfortunately for the Maratha cause, they were jealous of one another, and often questioned even the supremacy of the Peshwa. A house divided against itself cannot stand, and the quarrels which the Maratha chiefs had among themselves ruined the national prospects.

Madhu Rao 1761-1772 became Peshwa when he was only seventeen years of age. **The fourth Peshwa, Madhu Rao, 1761 to 1772,** During his minority his uncle, Raghoba, acted as his guardian. The greater part of his rule was taken up with successful wars against the Nizam of Haidarabad, the Bhonslas of Berar, and Haidar Ali, the Sultan of Mysore. During his time a very remarkable woman, Ahalya Bai of the family of Holkar, ruled at Indore. For her commander-in-chief she had a talented soldier,

Tukaji Holkar, whom she adopted as her son. She was altogether a model queen, and she raised Indore to a position of honour among the Maratha States. She died in 1795, and is even now worshipped in Malwa as an incarnation of the Deity.

**Maharani
Ahalya Bai and
Tukaji Holkar.**

Narayan Rao, 1772-1773, the younger brother of Madhu Rao, succeeded him. He was, however, murdered at the instance of Ananda Bai, the ambitious wife of Raghoba, who desired to see her husband installed as Peshwa. No sooner had Raghoba proclaimed himself as such, than Nana Farnavis, one of the chief ministers at Poona, produced Madhu Rao Narayan, a posthumous son of Narayan Rao, and claimed the Peshwaship for him in 1774. There was immediately a division in the Maratha camp. Some of the chiefs disliked Raghoba and supported the infant heir, while others of them refused to believe that the child was really Narayan Rao's son, and prepared to support Raghoba. To settle the dispute, an appeal was made to arms, and civil war began—the First Maratha War. An account of the conflict will be given when we come to the administration of Warren Hastings. Suffice it here to say that at its conclusion, Madhu Rao Narayan was created Peshwa, and Raghoba was given a handsome pension.

**The Fifth Pesh-
wa. Narayan
Rao. 1772-1773.**

**Contact with
the English
in the First
Maratha War.**

Madhu Rao Narayan, 1773-1795. Meanwhile the Maratha army, chiefly under the leadership of Sindhia, had overrun Northern India, captured Delhi, and obtained possession of the person of Shah Alam II., the Mughal Emperor. After this, Sindhia made himself independent of the Peshwa. He, however, died in 1794, and Nana Farnavis was left without a rival. This

**The sixth Pesh-
wa, Madhu Rao
Narayan. 1773-
1795.**

enabled him to turn his attention to the Nizam of Haidarabad, who had allowed his tribute to fall into arrears—the tribute he had arranged to pay after the battle of Udgir. Nana Farnavis summoned the Maratha chiefs to assist him against the Nizam, and they loyally responded. The contending armies met at Kurdla, and the Nizam was entirely defeated. Madhu Rao Narayan did not long enjoy the watchful care of Nana Farnavis; for, giving vent to a fit of ungoverned anger because his whims were thwarted, he killed himself.

Baji Rao II, the son of Raghoba, now became Peshwa, 1795. The jealousies of the Maratha chiefs continued, and the tendency now was to question the supremacy of the Peshwa. And so it was that Jeswant Rao Holkar, son of Tukaji Holkar, took up arms against both Sindhia and the Peshwa. In distress the latter appealed to the English for help, which was afforded him on his signing the Treaty of Bassein, 1802. The result was that the English were drawn into the Second Maratha War in which they fought against Daulat Rao Sindhia and Raghaji Bhonsla. The story of this war will be fully related when we come to deal with the administration of the Marquis of Wellesley. It is sufficient here to say that the Maratha chiefs were defeated, and that the third Maratha War completely wrecked their Confederacy.

But in the Maratha Confederacy itself, there were internal causes which would eventually have wrought its ruin. Among these may be mentioned the action of Sindhia in making himself independent of the Peshwa, and indeed his rival. Another cause was the struggle between Raghoba and Nana Farnavis as to who should succeed Narayan Rao as Peshwa. A third cause was the civil war of Baji Rao II, with Jeswant Rao Holkar and Daulat Rao Sindhia.

The Seventh Peshwa, Baji Rao II, 1795, and the Second Maratha War.

Causes of the Downfall of the Maratha Confederacy.

A fourth cause lay in the circumstance that while the Peshwas were Brahmans, some members of the Confederacy were of lower caste. Finally, in the eyes of all India, he was paramount who had the Mughal Emperor for his prisoner. In 1795 the Marathas had had possession of his person; but in the course of the Second Maratha War, 1803, Shah Alam II, fell into the hands of the English, and then it was that the last semblance of power deserted the Marathas.

Before closing this chapter, some account must be given of the Maratha army and of the system of Maratha war, administration and revenue, which, though devised by Sivaji was retained, with minor adaptations, by the Peshwas and by the several states that made up the Maratha Confederacy.

The foundation of Sivaji's power was his infantry which numbered 50,000 men. They brought their own arms—a sword, a **The Maratha Army,** shield and a match-lock. Every tenth man carried a bow and arrows for night attack and surprises. Their only equipage was a single blanket and a small bag of parched grain. They mounted precipices, or scaled rocks which would defy others. They received from Rs. 3 to Rs. 10 a month. Above a series of subordinate officers there were captains of 5000, who served under the commander-in-chief of infantry.

The cavalry, presided over by its own commander-in-chief, was divided into three classes :—*Bargis*, whose horses were supplied by the State; *Silidars*, who provided their own horses; and *Pagahs*, who were the chief's household troops. Their principal weapon was the spear. Camp equipage was unknown. At their saddles they carried a small bag for food and plunder. They were as hardy as their ponies, and often swept the country at the rate of from 50 to 80 miles in twenty-four hours. The chiefs and officers equally shared in the privations of their men. The latter were paid

between Rs 7 and Rs 40 a month, and at the end of the year all accounts were made up, and payments due to soldiers were never allowed to fall into arrears. During the rains the cavalry retired to the fortresses where corn and grass were stored by retainers, who enjoyed permanent assignments of rent-free land, which, together with the care of the forts, descended from father to son. The foot soldiers also went to their homes to cultivate their fields. While infantry and cavalry were thus resting from warfare, Sivaji prepared his plans for the operations of the coming year. At the Dussera festival the national flag was unfurled, and from all sides the soldiery once more swarmed to their chief. The Peshwa's forces mustered 60,000 all told. The contingents from the other states of the Confederacy augmented these numbers by an additional 50,000. But the Peshwa's army was called together only when he himself took the field. On his return to Poona, his troops were disbanded.

The heights of the Western Ghats were crowned with numerous fortresses which could be reached only by a narrow flight of steps, and from where an unseen garrison could hurl down massive stones upon the enemy. Here the Maratha troops found safety when pressed by the foe. They made it a rule to avoid pitched battles. The infantry usually hovered on the skirts of an army or hung about a camp, and as opportunity offered they carried off provisions and treasure. While the foot-soldiers were thus tormenting the enemy, the light-horse, (some 7000 in strength in the days of Sivaji), scoured the plains, harrying and plundering peaceful villages in alien territory. At the first warning of an approaching army they galloped back to their fortresses in the hills and jungles. Or they assembled on particular points with secrecy, and having made a rapid foray, they dispersed, again to form a fresh combination and deliver an unexpected attack. Their movements were so rapid that it was impossible for any force of regular cavalry

**Maratha System
of war.**

to overtake or intercept them. When they could not avoid giving open battle, their common plan was to feign a retreat, and having by this artifice lured the enemy into an ambuscade, they completed their destruction. Or while the foe was eagerly pursuing them, they suddenly turned and routed them before they could recover from their confusion. As Sivaji's cavalry and infantry were recruited from his own peasants, they were always available for a campaign, provided it was not seed-time or harvest. Thus Sivaji had command of a large body of fighting men, without being put to the expense of keeping a standing army. With them he swooped down upon his prey; and exacted tribute, or extorted a heavy price for peace. From part of the plunder he paid off his followers, and keeping the lion's share for himself, he returned to his hill-fort. This system of warfare was peculiarly suited to the instincts of the Marathas and to the character of their country. By giving every soldier of whatever rank a personal interest in success, Sivaji cemented princes and people into a great brotherhood, which was not dissolved when, in later years, the chiefs of the Maratha Confederacy had no king over them, and when they were fighting with one another, or even with the Peshwa.

The administrative unit of Sivaji was the fortress with its surrounding tract of country.

The forts gave him a local foot-hold, and a place wherein to deposit his plunder. On the plains the village

**Maratha System
of Administration.**

system prevailed, and the majority of cultivators were hereditary occupants, who could not be dispossessed so long as they paid their revenues. Each village was under a *Patal*, who supervised the cultivation of fields, managed the police, collected the revenue, and arranged for the protection of his charge. Several *Patals* were grouped together and put in subordination to *Deshadhikaris* or *Deshpandias*, whose office was hereditary. While these officers held control over the *Patals*, they

could not interfere with the general management of the country. Small districts were presided over by *Talukdars*. *Subahdars* held jurisdiction over bazar areas which contained one or more forts in which they deposited the grain and money, which their subordinates collected. To secure the ryots against unfair exactions, all village lands were divided into fields which were accurately entered into a register.

To assist in the proper conduct of public affairs, Sivaji appointed various grades of officers; and later on his gradation was, with a few necessary modifications, adopted by each of the chiefs of the Maratha Confederacy. The following were the more important servants of the government: -

- (1) The *Peshwa*, or Prime minister.
- (2) The *Mazimdar*, or Auditor-General of Accounts and Superintendent of Finance.
- (3) The Commander-in-Chief of Cavalry.
- (4) The Commander-in-Chief of Infantry.
- (5) The *Niadesh*, or President of the Judiciary.

Civil suits were tried by a *Panchayat*, or local Jury. Disputes between soldiers were settled by their officers. The criminal laws were derived from the *Shastras*, and were administered by *Mansabdars* and *Sursubahdars*. The Raja or Chief was the final head of military and civil affairs.

The Revenue of the Marathas was derived from alien territory in the shape of money exactions of tribute, and from the home-land in the shape of (1) land revenue (2) customs on imports and exports; (3) miscellaneous, *e.g.*, offerings of pilgrims, taxes on houses and pasturage, fines, etc.

Of Maratha land the assessment of revenue was yearly calculated upon the actual condition of the crops. There was no permanent assessment, but annually the state took the money value of two-fifths of the harvests. Sivaji set his face against *jagir* lands, and

against the farming out of revenues to collectors. From non-Maratha countries *chaut*, i.e., one-fourth of their gross revenues, was yearly exacted as the price of their being left unmolested. The income thus derived went into the general funds of the state. But over and above this, *surdeshmukhi*, i.e., ten per cent. of the gross revenues was levied (particularly on the six *subhas* of the Deccan) and was assigned to the Raja himself. Plunder was the sole object of all military expeditions, and it was brought at stated periods to Sivaji's *Durbar*, where the men who had taken it were praised, rewarded or promoted. From it payments were made to those in the service of the government. But under the Peshwas, all military and civil servants were paid by permanent assignments on portions of the revenue of villages. With this modification the chiefs of the Maratha Confederacy, as also the Peshwa, adopted the system of revenue collection and distribution which Sivaji had established; and indeed, no better means could have been devised for holding together those upon whose combination and federation the integrity of the Maratha rule depended.

Section III.

The Sikhs.

THE Sikhs were a sect of Jats whose early home was in the valley of the Indus. They trace their origin to Nanak, a celebrated Hindu reformer, who was born in Lahore in 1469. They gradually spread over the Punjab and Rajputana, and pushed their colonies as far south as the Jumna. They still inhabit these parts.

The Origin of the Sikhs.

In all, they had ten *Gurus*, or temporal and spiritual leaders—Nanak being the first, and Govind Singh the last. Nanak formulated the Sikh **Guru Govind.** Faith, a refined type of Hinduism which was finally written into a book called the *Granth*. Govind Singh was leader of the Sikhs from 1676 to 1708, during which time, by abolishing the distinction of caste, he welded them into a united body. He also gave them a military character, and established a Sikh common-wealth under the name of the *Khalsa*.

The growing importance of the Sikhs alarmed the Emperor Aurangzeb, who, to satisfy himself of their attitude towards him, summoned Govind Singh to attend his court.

Their Persecution by the Mughals.

After some hesitation the *guru* set out in obedience to the call, but in the meantime Aurangzeb died, and he presented himself before his successor, Bahadur Shah. He was received with much distinction; but was suddenly assassinated by a Pathan. This act of treachery exasperated the Sikhs, and they determined to avenge their leader's death. By capturing Sirhind, and ravaging the country up to Lahore, they brought Bahadur Shah into the field against them. But after six years of fighting they scattered, and took refuge in the hills and jungles. This period of depression, however,

was not without its advantages, for during it they perfected a military system by organising themselves into Confederacies, or Missils, each under its own Sardar. Theoretically anyone could win his way to a sardarship; but in course of time the office became hereditary. And so what had originally been a brotherhood of co-ordinate Missils, became a military aristocracy, in which all influence and power continued in the hands of a few chiefs, until Ranjit Singh, in 1800, brushed aside his rival sardars and established a monarchy in which he was the sole ruler.

It has been related above that for a number of years the Sikhs found refuge in retirement; but when Nadir Shah was returning home from the sack of Delhi, in 1738, they emerged from their obscurity, fell on the rear of his army, and carried off much plunder with which they replenished their empty coffers. When the subsequent invasions of the same Shah, had to a large extent undermined the Mughal Empire, they gathered from all quarters at Amritsar, and became aggressive toward their no longer prosperous enemy. The Mughal viceroy of Lahore, therefore proclaimed a general massacre of the Sikhs, and thousands of them were put to death. The Mughals, however, had to stay their arm, for between the years 1748 and 1756, Ahmad Shah Abdali made a series of incursions which designed the final overthrow of the Empire of Delhi. The Sikhs made no distinction between Afghan and Mughal, and defeating Ahmad Shah's troops at Lahore (1758) they declared the Khalsa an independent state. Taking advantage of Ahmad Shah's withdrawal to his own kingdom, the Mughals, assisted by the Marathas, tried to recover the Punjab. Ahmad Shah immediately returned to prevent this, and inflicted a severe defeat on the Marathas, in the Third Battle of Panipat, 1761. Finding that the Afghans and Mughals were bent on

each other's destruction, the Sikhs became more daring. They occupied Sirhind and other fortresses belonging to the Afghans: but Ahmad Shah soon rescued Sirhind from them and destroyed Amritsar, their Holy City. They however rallied; regained many of the strongholds that had been wrested from them; and took possession of the tract of country between the Jumna and the Sutlej. This brought Ahmad Shah once more into India. But the Sikhs having found that they were no match for Afghan armies in an open field, were now careful not to allow themselves to be drawn into battle. Ahmad himself was tired of an ineffective warfare. Besides this, news reached him of disturbances in Kabul, and he diplomatically acknowledged the Sikh Chief of Patiala as his local Governor. But no sooner had he departed to Kabul, than the Sikhs captured Lahore, seized all the country between the Sutlej and the Jhelum, and proclaimed the Khalsa to be the Dominant Power in the Punjab. They now ruled from the Jumna to the Jhelum. In the face of these events Ahmad Shah determined in 1767 to make a final attempt to crush the irrepressible Sikhs. He succeeded in checking the Khalsa army on the banks of the Sutlej; but failing health compelled him to adopt a policy of conciliation, and he set up the Chief of Patiala as the ruler of Sirhind. But the Sikhs were not deceived. In this apparent kindness they saw a proof that the Punjab was slipping out of Afghan hands, and no sooner had Ahmad Shah crossed the Indus, they took possession of Lahore and Rhotas. Although from this time they suffered no more persecution and were accounted one of the great powers in the land, they could not yet put off their armour. For when Ahmad Shah died in 1773, his son and successor, Timur Shah, drove them from Multan; and when twenty years later Shah Zaman was king of Kabul, he recovered Lahore from them. He might have had larger successes, but the turbulence of his own subjects in Afghanistan compelled him, in 1798, to be

content to receive merely the homage of the Sikh sardars, and to appoint Ranjit Singh, as governor of Lahore.

Ranjit Singh, the national hero of the Sikhs, was born in 1780. While he was still a child he lost an eye from small-pox. On the death of his father in 1792 he succeeded to the sardarship of his Missil, but was under guardians till he was seventeen years old. He had been ruling in his own right only one year, when, as has been related, Shah Zaman made him Governor of Lahore. He soon proved that he was a born leader of men, and steadily grew in influence and popularity. This excited the envy of rival sardars, and a coalition was formed against him. In 1800 he brushed aside his enemies, and assuming the title of Maharajah, began to mint money in his own name. But a one-man-rule was contrary to the traditions of the Sikhs, and the sardars of the Cis-Sutlej States of Patiala, Jhind, and Nabha protested against the usurpation of the kingly rank by Ranjit Singh. In 1806, he crossed the Sutlej with the intention of compelling the refractory chiefs to acknowledge him as their king. They appealed to the English for protection, on the plea that inasmuch as the Marathas under Holkar had receded from their possessions in Northern India, on the termination of the Second Maratha War, in 1803, the parts of the country inhabited by them was under British influence. Lord Minto, who was Governor-General, accordingly sent an envoy to Lahore, with the result, that Ranjit Singh let the Cis-Sutlej Sikh chiefs alone, and undertook to regard the river as the eastern boundary of his kingdom.

Ranjit Singh's reign was one protracted campaign for the consolidation of his power. His ambition therefore was to maintain a well trained army. In order to improve the efficiency of his troops he appointed European officers to command them. Through the services of his soldiery he converted the Afghan Governor of Peshawar into a vassal, and by 1831 he had brought into subjection the Muhammadan provinces of Multan,

Kashmir, the Rajputana hill states, and a number of minor independent chiefs. He now ruled over territories extending from the hills beyond the Indus to Ladak in Tibet, and from the northern banks of the Sutlej to Kashmir. On three sides his possessions touched those of the English. With the latter he found it prudent to live on good terms, so much so, that he joined them when it was found expedient to eject Dost Muhammad of Afghanistan, and restore their lost kingdom to the Duranis. But while the war was in progress he died in 1839.

On the death of Ranjit Singh, many princes in quick succession filled his throne, but met with violent deaths. The army of the Khalsa usurped all power, and did as its leaders pleased. At last, in 1843, Ranjit Singh's youngest son, Dhulip Singh, a boy of ten, was given the crown with his mother as Queen-Regent, and with the chief sardars as his Council of State or Khalsa.

But the palmy days of the Sikhs were now a thing of the past. It is true that they had triumphed over Moslem and Maratha, and had founded a mighty kingdom in the Punjab. But about this time they came into conflict with the English, and their great bravery was of no avail against the superior discipline and equipments of British troops. As will be seen, later on, they were defeated in the First and Second Sikh Wars, and their kingdom was finally absorbed into the British Empire.

CHAPTER XI.

The Early Period of the Company :

Section I.

The First European Settlers.

1498—1783 A.D.

IN some of the preceding chapters, mention has been made of certain European nations, from which it will have been inferred that they were already in the country. It is now time to relate when and why they came.

In very early times, India was known to Europe. The Romans traded with it, and the
Europe and India in Early Days. Greeks, as we have seen, actually invaded it. Alfred the Great of England sent a nobleman of his court as an ambassador to one of its princes. But Europe was so far from India, and navigation was so full of danger, that it was no easy matter for trade to be carried on between the two. Besides this, the nations of Europe were so occupied with their own wars, and other affairs, that they did not have the desire or the opportunity to trade. But when, at the close of the fifteenth century, people had recovered from the strain of constant warfare, a great wish filled the minds of many in Western Europe to find a way to India by sea.

In 1497, under the patronage of King John II of Portugal, **Vasco da Gama** tried to reach
The Portuguese in India. India by sailing round the Cape of Good Hope. This he accomplished in 1498, landing at Calicut. Here he was kindly received by the Zamorin, or Hindu Raja, and returned to Portugal with a rich cargo of spices and precious stones. Encouraged by these results, the King of Portugal, in 1500, sent a

large fleet on the same errand, under Pedro Alvares Cabral. He effected a safe landing, and established a factory or agency at Calicut, for the sale of Portuguese wares and the purchase of Indian commodities. It ought to be noticed that, at this time, the bulk of Indian trade was in the hands of the Muhammadans, or Moplas, as they were called. Naturally they resented the arrival of the Portuguese, in whose favour part of the commerce of the coast began to be diverted. They used their influence with the Zamorin so successfully that, when Vasco da Gama revisited India in 1502, this king quarrelled with him. But Vasco da Gama made allies of the Rajas of Cochin and Cannanore, and with their assistance he defeated his former friend in battle. The King of Portugal did not approve of what Vasco da Gama had done, and recalled him from India, replacing him, in 1505, by **Francisco d' Almeida**, under the name and style of Governor and Viceroy of the Portuguese in India. Almeida carried on a profitable trade for his master; and when he returned home, **Alfonso d' Albuquerque** filled his place. The latter was a very successful ruler, and having won Goa for Portugal in 1510, he died there five years latter (1515). After a lapse of nine years Vasco da Gama was again sent out to be Viceroy; but he died at Cochin in the following year (1525).

By this time the Portuguese owned many towns on the coast from Diu in Gujarat to Quilon.

Portuguese Possessions. The chief of these were Bassein, Bombay, Goa, Mangalore, Cannanore, Cranganore, Calicut, and Cochin. Besides these, St. Thomè and Masulipatam, and Negapatam, all on the East Coast, were theirs, as also was a large part of Ceylon. Their chief port was Diu, and Goa was their capital. Not satisfied with these possessions, they warred against Gujarat and Malabar, and entered Sindh in 1556. But they had no success. In 1560 an Archbishop was sent to Goa, and from this time the Portuguese tried to

convert the people of the country to Christianity. They were very cruel to those who would not accept this religion, and so they began to be hated by both Hindus and Muhammadans. This hatred was one of the causes of their downfall in India. Another cause, was the arrival of the Dutch and the English in 1600.

Like the English, the Dutch at first tried to reach India by passing through Behring Straits.

But in this they failed. Cornelius Houtmann then, in 1596, attempted the south-
The Dutch in India.

ern route ; but landed at Bantam in Java. From this place he carried home a cargo of spices. He made another expedition in 1599, and with the help of the natives he took away from the Portuguese several of their towns in the Molucca Islands. The Dutch had previously conquered a part of Ceylon, and became, by 1605, the greatest maritime nation on Indian waters. But the rivalry between them and the English in the Eastern Seas led to much fighting, and they eventually massacred the English at Amboyna in 1623. This act of cruelty did not improve matters, and the two nations continued in open hostility until 1689, the year in which William of Orange became king of England. But long before this date the power of the Dutch in the East had been declining, chiefly through their greed and cruelty. Their hopes of an Indian Empire were put an end to by Clive, who, in 1758, took Chinsurah, their capital in Bengal, away from them. At present the Dutch own no lands in India.

The British, as has been said, visited India in very early times. William of Malmsbury

records, that in 833 A.D. King Alfred
English attempts to reach India.

sent Sighelmus, Bishop of Sherburn, to present gifts at the shrine of St. Thomas, near Madras, and that he came back with spices and gems. Then in 1496 John Cabot was sent to find a way to India ; but he discovered Newfoundland instead. When Queen Mary came to the throne, she sent Sir Hugh Willoughby

to see if he could get to India through Behring Straits. But he and his crew perished in the Arctic Seas. Fro-bisher, Davis, Hudson, and Baffin—all celebrated English navigators—attempted the same voyage, but they met with no success. For a time people gave up the idea of reaching India by crossing the seas. It seemed easier to do so by land, through Persia. Accordingly in 1583, John Newbery, William Leeds, and Ralph Fitch sailed to Syria by the Mediterranean Sea, and reached Ormuz by way of the Persian Gulf, Aleppo and Bagdad. Here they were thrown into prison; but on being liberated, they sailed to Goa, the chief town of the Portuguese. At the last mentioned city they were cast into prison; but escaping, they travelled over a great part of India. From Agra, Newbery went back to England, *via* Persia, Leeds, became jeweller to Akbar. Fitch visited Benares, Bhutan, Hugli, and Ceylon, and finally reached home in 1591. The accounts which he gave of all he had seen in India, of its wealth and plenty, quickened anew public interest in that country, and without delay several ships, under the guidance of Lancaster, were sent out round the Cape. Lancaster's expedition was a failure; but Queen Elizabeth, in 1599, despatched John Mildenhall to the Emperor Akbar. Nothing was gained by his visit. Not to be beaten by these repeated failures, a Company—the great East India Company—was formed under royal charter in 1600. Lancaster again led a new fleet into Indian waters, and this time his perseverance was rewarded, for he went back with a rich cargo of calicoes and spices.

Gratified by this success, the Directors of the East India Company sent out ships every year till 1610. The Dutch were, at this time, the undisputed masters of the Eastern Seas, and they resented the intrusion of the English. They had already crushed the Portuguese, and they now entered upon active hostilities against the English. They met their ships at sea, and often captured

The East India Company and the Dutch.

them. King James I thought that it would be a great gain to enter into an alliance with the Mughal Emperor. And so, in 1615, he sent Sir Thomas Roe as the English ambassador to Jahangir. The latter received the embassy kindly, but no practical good resulted. The ill-feeling between the English and the Dutch continued to grow, and culminated, as already stated, in the massacre of the English by the Dutch at Amboyna in 1623.

But for all that the English Company went on prospering. It had a factory at Gom-
broon, and another at Surat which be-
came their capital. On the Coromandal

English
Settlements.

Coast, factories had been established at Masulipatam, Pulicat, Armagaon, Pipli, and Madras (1639). In 1656 an English doctor cured the child of the Nawab of Bengal, and the grateful prince made a gift of Hughli to the Company. Then factories were set up at Patna and Casimbazar. In 1662 Charles II married Catherine of Braganza, and received Bombay as her dowry. In 1668 he transferred it to the East India Company, who made it their western capital. About this time the French came to trade in India, and leaving the history of the English for the present, let us turn to the new arrivals.

The fact that the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English had established trade with India, could not but arouse the ambition of the
French to do the same. And so it was

Arrival of
the French.

that in 1667 Louis XIV despatched an expedition under **Francis Caron** to open up trade with India. Caron touched at Cochin, and by the end of the same year, the first French factory was established at Surat. He next obtained permission from the King of Golconda for the French to trade in that king's dominions, and to erect a factory at Masulipatam. Not content with such gradual progress, he conceived the idea of ousting the Dutch from their possessions in Ceylon. He accordingly led an expedition against them; but his hopes of acquiring a ready-made business were disappointed. The

Dutch defeated him at Point de Galle, and though Trinkamali fell into his hands, he again lost it to his enemies. When the war ended, the only gain from the loss of much money and many lives, was the small and unimportant town of St. Thomè, near Madras. The home Government considered that Caron had been a failure, and he was replaced by Martin.

Martin's policy was to secure the prosperity of the French Company, by being on friendly terms with all around him. The French had come to trade, and trade depends upon peace. He accordingly entered into negotiations with Sher Khan Lodi of Bijapur in the Karnatic, and purchased from him Puducheri (Pondichery), Villanur, and Bahur. Pondichery was excellently situated and healthy. While it was protected against the monsoon, it also afforded a safe landing place, and was besides, a convenient point from which to traffic with the interior. So it was made the capital of the Indian possessions of France. Martin fortified it, and raised regiments of native soldiers.

But trouble was at hand. In 1675, Sivaji the powerful Maratha chief, made a raid into the Karnatic for plunder. Sher Khan Lodi fled before him, and he turned upon the French on the pretext that they were the allies of Sher Khan. Martin, however, warded off the danger which threatened by prudently acknowledging the supremacy of the Marathas, and by paying Sivaji a sum of money for the retention of Pondichery, and for permission to continue to trade in the Karnatic.

It must be noted that, during this period of history, when any two nations went to war in Europe, it meant that they had to fight against each other also in India. About this time war broke out between the French and the Dutch on the Continent, and so the hostilities extended to India. The Dutch had not forgotten how Caron had attempted to expel them from Ceylon, and were glad of an opportunity to pay off old scores.

They promptly landed at Pondichery, and took it. But four years later the European war was brought to a close by the Peace of Ryswick, and as one of the conditions of the treaty was that Pondichery should be restored to the French, it was given back to them.

Some years previous to this, 1688, the Emperor Aurangzeb had given Chandarnagar, in Bengal, to the French; and their affairs had so prospered that when in 1701 the title of Governor of Pondichery was conferred on Martin, he ruled over tracts of land at Masulipatam, Surat, Chandarnagar, Balasore, Dacca, Patna, and Casimbazar. During his administration, which continued till his death, in 1709, trade flourished, and the French were courted by Indian princes. But when Law succeeded Martin, things went badly with the French Company, and its trade declined. A reaction, however, set in in 1721 when Lenoir assumed the government, and prosperity once more returned.

The next French Governor was **Dumas**. He resumed the policy of Martin, and through Dost Ali, the Nawab of the Karnatic, he obtained from Muhammad Shah, of Delhi, permission to coin money. He lent his troops to a claimant to the throne of Tanjore, and received in return the town of Karikal and ten villages adjacent to it. The Mughal Empire, it will be remembered, was at this moment passing through a severe crisis, for Nadir Shah had invaded India. As though this were not enough, the Marathas, jealous of the Emperor's growing influence in the south, raided the Karnatic, 1736, and completely defeated Dost Ali. The near and distant relatives of the Nawab, as also many minor chiefs of the neighbourhood, flocked into Pondichery for protection against the dreaded enemy. Protection was afforded them by Dumas, who saw in this a means of extending French patronage, and an opportunity of bringing into his debt those who, later on, might be of signal service to the French. As was to be expected, the Marathas

demanding that the refugees should be delivered to them, and when Dumas refused to comply, Raghuji Bhonsla threatened to raze Pondichery to the dust. But Dumas pacified him, and the Maratha chieftain was content to return home with what booty he had gained. The princes who had thus been delivered from the hand of the Marathas, were naturally full of gratitude to the French, and they repaid their protectors by making them grants of land. Safdar Ali, son and heir to the late Nawab of the Karnatic, added to the French possessions, and the Mughal Emperor conferred upon Dumas the title of Nawab, and created him a Commander of 4,500 Horse, both of which dignities were to be transmitted to his successors. After a most distinguished career Dumas retired in 1741, and the celebrated Dupleix became Director-General of the French Possessions in India.

Section II.

Struggle Between the English and the French.

1741—1783 A.D.

DUPLEIX had hitherto been in charge at Chandarnagar. When he took up the reins of government, the War of the Austrian Succession was brewing in Europe, and neither England nor France could spare either money or forces for operations in far-off India. Foreseeing what was likely to happen when war was declared at home, Dupleix at once began to enter into alliances with the princes around him, and to cut down the expenses of the French factories. The most important of his new allies was Anwar-ud-din, the Nawab of Arcot, and the landlord of the English. As soon as the expected war—the War of the Austrian Succession—broke out in Europe, the English attacked Pondichery. Dupleix appealed to the Nawab to forbid his tenants, the English, to attack the Capital of his allies, the French. The Nawab complied; but, his prohibition notwithstanding, the English blockaded Pondichery, and were on the point of taking it, when La Bourdonnais opportunely arrived with a French fleet. To draw their foes away from Pondichery, the French made up their minds to lay siege to Madras. It was now the turn of the English to appeal to the Nawab to protect his tenants. But he was not in sympathy with them; besides, he wanted the French to take the city, for Dupleix had promised to give him the town as soon as it was wrested from the English. So Madras fell into the hands of the French, and its garrison were made prisoners of war. But now that he had got Madras,

Dupleix. Attempt to Establish a French Empire.

First Karnatic War.

Dupleix changed his mind, and decided to keep it. This roused the indignation of the Nawab, and he sent his son, Maphuz Khan, with troops to compel its promised surrender. But the French were nothing daunted. They took the field, and defeated their late friend and patron, in the decisive battle of St. Thomé. This battle had important results. Hitherto the English and the French had been contented to be the vassals of the Nawab. Now the position was inverted. The Europeans were proved to be so strong in arms as to be able to defeat powerful Indian rulers. They needed no longer to sue for protection, but could instead dictate terms, even to the mighty Nawab of the Karnatic himself. As for Dupleix, his ambition was kindled, and henceforth it became his set purpose to bring all Southern India under the sway of France.

The French already owned enough territory in India to make them wish for more. With Pondichery, Madras and Karikal in his power—if Dupleix could only crush the British, the French would indeed be supreme. The Englishmen who escaped when Madras had been taken, had strengthened themselves in Fort St. David. Without loss of time Paradis was sent to drive them from the fort. But he was destined not to succeed, for an English fleet, under Admiral Boscawen, appeared off Pondichery, and the French had to hasten to the protection of their own capital. The war had reached this point when the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was signed in Europe in 1748, and as one of its conditions was the mutual restitution of all conquests, the First Karnatic War terminated with the English and French giving each other back, what each had gained in the war.

Now that they were at peace between themselves and with their neighbours, the French and the English had more soldiers in their pay than they knew what to do with. But it was not long before they found occupation for them. In 1748 the Nizam-ul-Mulk, Subahdar of the

Second Karnatic War.

Deccan, died at Haidarabad. Among other descendants he left two sons, Nadir (or Nazir) Jang and Salabat Jang, and a grandson, Muzaffar Jang. Nazir Jang had been declared heir by his father. Muzaffar Jang on the other hand put in a claim. Nazir Jang, however, was not disposed to give up his claim without resistance. So he made preparations to fight for his rights, and he appealed to the English to take up his cause. This they agreed to do. Muzaffar Jang forthwith enlisted the co-operation of the French. And so the old rivals were once more pitted against each other. But another complication now arose. When Dost Ali, the Nawab of the Karnatic, had been taken prisoner by the Marathas, the nawabship had been conferred on Anwar-ud-din. Anwar-ud-din died at this time, and immediately the succession to the throne of Arcot was disputed by Chand (or Chanda) Sahib, son-in-law of Dost Ali, and Muhammad Ali, son of Anwar-ud-din. Chanda Sahib secured the support of the French, while the English ranged themselves on the side of Muhammad Ali. There was thus a strong combination of forces in which the English, Nazir Jang, and Muhammad Ali opposed the French, Muzaffar Jang, and Chanda Sahib. Thus began the Second Karnatic War which was to settle the succession to the thrones of Haidarabad and Arcot.

At the beginning of the war the French had much success, and Muhammad Ali fled to Trichinopoli, leaving Nazir Jang alone in the field. The French and their allies concentrated against Trichinopoli, and were not far from taking it when Clive came to the rescue by suddenly capturing Arcot, the capital of the Karnatic. Things now went badly for the French, and when Clive won the decisive battle of Srirangam, 1752, and Chanda Sahib was slain, Muhammad Ali was left without a rival in the Karnatic. The war, however, lingered on, and after varying fortunes on both sides, the French suffered a crushing defeat at Trichinopoli, and were glad to come to terms. The French Government at home was by

this time weary of a profitless and expensive war. Clive whose health had failed, was obliged in 1753 to go to England. Dupleix was recalled, and Godeheu was sent out in his stead, with express commands to speedily make peace. The terms upon which hostilities ceased, were that Muhammad Ali was to be Nawab of Arcot, and Muzaffar Jang Subahdar of the Deccan, 1754.

But peace was not long to continue. In 1756, the Seven Years' War broke out in Europe between the English and the French, and so hostilities between them were resumed in India. The French general, Lally, promptly took Fort St. David, captured Arcot, and laid siege to Madras. Meanwhile the English were not without their successes. They obtained possession of the Northern Circars, and induced the Subahdar of the Deccan to desert the French, and throw in his lot with them. Moreover, Colonel Eyre Coote worsted the French at Wandiwash, 1760, and gained Arcot, Devicota, and Karikal. But now what had happened before happened again. In Europe peace was restored by the Treaty of Paris, in 1763, and Pondichery was given back to the French. The war, however, had rudely shaken their power in India.

The English, on the other hand, prospered more than before. In 1765, the Mughal Emperor conferred on them sovereign rights over the Northern Circars, and as Muhammad Ali ruled over the Karnatic by their permission, the East India Company was practically, if not actually, master of all Southern India from Orissa to Cape Comorin. Here, in the south, Clive and Coote carried all before them, and in Bengal, Warren Hastings was building up a lasting empire. While he was Governor-General of the British possessions in India, Chandarnagar and Pondichery were captured from the French, in the course of the Second Mysore War. They were, however, subsequently

**Final Triumph
of the English
over the French.**

restored when the Treaty of Versailles was signed in Europe, 1783. But from this time the French gave up hopes of acquiring an empire in India, and all that now remains to them in this country is Chandarnagar, Karikal, Mahé, Ganam and Pondichery.

Section III.

Robert Clive and Warren Hastings.

1744—1778 A.D.

IN 1744 Robert Clive came to Madras as a writer, or clerk, in the service of the East India Company. But subsequent events proved that the council chamber and the battle-field were his proper spheres. For the better understanding of the history of the times, let us take a general survey of India, and recapitulate much that has already been narrated.

General Historical Survey of India.

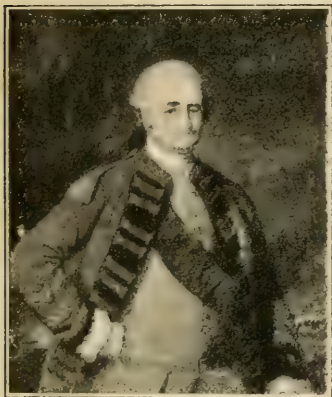
It will be remembered how, in the closing years of Aurangzeb's reign, the Mughal Empire had begun to decline ; and how the little that was left of it had been shattered in 1739, by the invasion of Nadir Shah. It has been seen how various soldiers of fortune, on the fragments of the Mughal Empire, set up kingdoms for themselves in Oudh, Rohilkhand, Bengal, and the Deccan. Meanwhile, the warlike Marathas acquired for themselves, province after province in Southern, Western, and Central India ; and the Sikhs disputed the sovereignty of the Punjab with the Emperor Ahmad Shah. The Deccan, which included the Northern Circars and the Karnatic, was in the hands of the Nizam-ul-Mulk, who also claimed Trichinopoli. The Nawab of the Karnatic was his vassal ; but Mysore, Travancore and Cochin were independent kingdoms.

The other powers in the south were the English and the French. The former had their head-quarters at Madras, and were the tenants of the Nawab of the Karnatic. The French capital was Pondichery. Both nations had come merely to traffic in the land, but they were drawn into the quarrels which the Indian princes had with one another, and were also subject to the results

of political conflicts in Europe. And so in one way or another they had gained a footing in the country.

The circumstances under which the English and French were ranged against each other in the First Karnatic War have already been explained ; and the results of that

Clives First Period.



ROBERT CLIVE.

war will be remembered. Dupleix and Clive took part in the struggle. When Paradis took Madras, in 1746, Clive was there, as also in the campaign by which the English attempted to restore the King of Tanjore to the throne of which the French had deprived him. He was likewise present in the army that resisted Dupleix before Trichinopoli. Hitherto, as occasion demanded,

Clive had passed from the chair in his office to the battlefield ; but now, 1751, he finally resigned his clerkship, and entered the army. It was at this time, while the French were threatening Trichinopoli in the Second Karnatic War, that he restored the prestige of the Company by capturing Arcot. His next achievement was to win the Battle of Sriramgaon, 1752, after which the French surrendered at Trichinopoli, and Canda Sahib was killed at the gates of his palace. Clive's health now broke down, and he had to return to England ; but he went with the satisfaction of knowing that but for him Dupleix would have founded a French Empire in Southern India.

The year 1755 saw Clive back as Governor and

**Clive's Second
and Hastings's
First Period.**

Commander of Fort St. George, with succession to the governorship of Madras. At that time war with France was proceeding, and he was on the point of wresting the Deccan from French influence, when peace was concluded in Europe, and hostilities in India had to be dropped. And it was just as well, for Bengal demanded the immediate services of Clive. In 1750, a young clerk had come to Calcutta *—**Warren Hastings**. For the superior parts that he exhibited, he was posted, in 1753, to Kasimbazar, near Murshidabad, the capital of Bengal. Three years later Ali Vardi Khan, the Nawab of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, died, and was succeeded by his grandson, Siraj-ud-daulah. This young man picked a quarrel with the English, suddenly seized their factory at Kasimbazar, and marched his prisoners—Hastings among them—to Murshidabad. He then moved against Calcutta, whence most of the English factors including Drake, the governor, fled for safety to the ships on the river. The city and its fort fell before the Nawab, who

* **Early History of Calcutta.**—It will be remembered that in 1656 the Nawab of Bengal made a gift of Hugli in Bengal to the Company. Here they established a factory; but in 1686, owing to the oppression of the Mughal authorities, they abandoned Hughli, and migrated to the village of Sutanti, 26 miles lower down the river. Four years later the Emperor Aurangzeb, made them a grant of land there, and permitted them to acquire the two neighbouring villages of Kalikata and Govindpur. And so it came about that Job Charnock, the President, on this site laid the foundation of the present city of Calcutta. In 1698, permission having been obtained to put the settlement in a state of defence, a fort was built. The town steadily grew in commercial importance, and Portuguese, Armenian, Mughal and Hindu traders began to reside in it. Till 1707 its affairs were managed from Madras, but in that year it was made an independent Presidency. In 1715 Dr. Hamilton, of the Company's Service, cured the Emperor Farukhsiyar of a serious malady, and the grateful Monarch gave the English permission to purchase 38 villages on either side of the river, ten miles south of Calcutta. In 1742 there was a scare that the Marathas were planning an attack on the city, and the native inhabitants dug a ditch round a portion of the Company's boundaries as a protection. In 1750, when Warren Hastings first came to India, Mr. Barwell was governor of the City. In 1752 he was succeeded by Mr. Drake—mention of whom brings us to the stirring times now being chronicled.

demanded the money in the Company's Treasury. Failing in his attempts to find where the money was secreted, he permitted 146 English prisoners to be shut up in a small dungeon, ever since known in history as the Black Hole. It was the month of June, and, as might have been expected, when next morning the only door to the room was opened

**The Black
Hole. 1756.**

but 23 of the victims were dragged out alive. Among the survivors was Holwell who, in the absence of Drake, had assumed the head of affairs. He was put in irons, and conveyed to Murshidabad. Clive was at Madras when news came of this calamity in Bengal. Forthwith he and Admiral Watson were despatched to take vengeance ; but they did not reach Bengal till December. Watson demanded from Siraj-ud-daulah compensation for the losses that had been inflicted on the English ; but he remained defiant. So the army of retribution retook Calcutta, and captured the French town of Chandarnagar—for the double reason that the Seven Years' War was going on in Europe with the English and the French on opposite sides, and that the latter had become the allies of the Nawab. Meanwhile this ruler was not without secret enemies. His commander-in-chief, Mir Muhammad Jafar, entered into league with the English who promised to put him on the throne of Murshidabad. This arrangement had been made through the agency of Umachand (Amin or Amir Chand), a wealthy merchant of Calcutta. But at the last moment Umachand threatened to reveal the secret to Siraj-ud-daulah, unless a sum of 20 lakhs were paid him. The position in which Clive found himself was most critical. He resolved to fight the blackmailer with his own weapon, and thus was led to the questionable act of palming off on Umachand a false document which promised him the hush-money he demanded. The Company's army then marched on, and met the troops of Siraj-ud-daulah at Plassey. There the historic Battle of Plassey was fought

Umachand.

Plassey and its Results. 1757. on the 23rd June, 1757, and Siraj-ud-daulah fled from the field—outmatched by the daring of Clive, and betrayed by the treachery of his own commander-in-chief. For, as the result of the battle began to declare itself, Mir Jafar withdrew his followers and went over to the enemy. The English were now supreme in Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, and Mir Jafar became the Nawab at Murshidabad. For his elevation he ceded to the English all the lands south of Calcutta, delivered into the hands of his patrons all the French factories in Bengal, and paid one crore of rupees to the Company. Of Siraj-ud-daulah it only remains to relate that he fled from Plassey to Rajmahal; that he was there captured, and brought down to Mir Jafar, who pitilessly put him to death.

Clive was now free to turn his attention to the French, who, taking advantage of his absence in Bengal, had under Lally, captured Fort St. David and Arcot, and were besieging Madras. Colonels Forde and Coote were despatched from Bengal, and, defeating the French in several engagements, gained possession of the Northern Circars. The Subahdar of the Deccan, too, threw over the French, and entered into an alliance with the English.

While these events were transpiring in the south, Mir Jafar began to realise that he had promised what he could not fulfil. In paying the price of his nawabship he had exhausted his treasury, and he could see no way of replenishing it. The recurring demands for money which he made on his wealthy subjects drove them into discontent, so much so, indeed, that the Raja of Purnia and the Governor of Bihar went into open rebellion. Nor were his difficulties decreased by a threatened invasion of Bengal by the Nawab Wazir of Oudh, and by a son of Shah Alam of Delhi. In his heart of hearts, Mir Jafar longed to rid himself of his dependence upon the English, but the present stress of circumstances obliged

him to apply to them for help against his mutinous vassals. Clive accordingly led an army to Patna, the capital of Bihar, and entered the city in triumph (1759). While he was thus engaged, Mir Jafar took advantage of a war between the English and the Dutch in Europe, and prevailed upon the latter to assist him in getting free of his bondage to the Company. The Dutch were only too willing to engage in hostilities with their country's enemy; but they were easily routed at Biderra, near Chinsurah, and Mir Jafar found himself in a worse plight than before. Never again did the Dutch disturb the tranquillity of India. Clive at this time, 1760, went to England for a second time, and left Mr. Holwell, Governor of Calcutta, in charge until Mr. Vansittart arrived to dictate terms to Mir Jafar. The latter, in despair, resigned his nawabship, and was removed to a suburb of Calcutta, while his son-in-law, Mir Kasim Ali, was elevated to the vacant office. He contracted to pay off the debts of his father-in-law, to endow the Company with the revenues of Burdwan, Midnapur, and Chittagong, and to contribute five lakhs towards the expenses of the war in the Karnatic. Hastings, who was stationed at Murshidabad during these years, rendered valuable service in putting these negotiations through, and he was rewarded with a seat in the Calcutta Council.

Mir Kasim was an upright and firm ruler, and as he had undertaken heavy monetary responsibilities, he was determined to improve his revenue by all lawful means. His efforts to do so brought him into conflict with the Company. The Company was exempted from all tolls and transit duties on articles of commerce. But it was never intended that the private trade of the Company's servants should escape taxation as it was doing. He, therefore, brought the personal trade of Englishmen under the same rates as those levied on every other trader. But he was deprived of his dues by what he considered the

dishonesty of English traders, who hoisted the Company's flag to protect their private trade from taxation. This practice told against other traders who could not escape the transit duties, and Mir Kasim felt, that the only thing he could do under the circumstances was to abolish all tolls and taxes on commerce. This he accordingly did. The Calcutta Council protested; but the Nawab remained firm. The relation between him and the English became more and more strained, till finally war was declared (1763). The English took Patna, which the Nawab speedily recovered, massacring the English whom he found there. The Company's troops then defeated the Nawab at Geriah, and captured Monghyr. Major Adams presently retook Patna, and Mir Kasim fled for protection to his late enemy, Shuja-ud-daulah, the Nawab Wazir of Oudh, with whom the homeless emperor, Shah Alam, also was finding shelter. By this act he was considered to have vacated the nawabship of Bengal, and Mir Jafar was reinstated on promising to reimpose all the old transit duties against his own subjects, and to pay large sums of money into the Company's treasury. The war against Mir Kasim continued. He and his allies were finally beaten at the Battle of Buxar, 1764, and Allahabad was taken. Shuja-ud-daulah's hopes of making conquests were now forever extinguished, and the hapless Shah Alam threw himself on the mercy of the victors. In the following year Clive returned, and the Nawab Wazir was obliged to sue for peace, for Oudh was overrun by the Company's troops. The terms to which Shah Alam had to agree were that Chunar should become a British possession, and that the provinces of Kora and Allahabad, should be administered for him by the Company, who were also to receive from him a sum of fifty lakhs. Moreover, the whole of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa were to be given to the English in return for an annual tribute of twenty-six lakhs.

While these arrangements were proceeding, Hastings

went to England ; but as already stated Clive had come back as governor of Calcutta, to the scene of his former labours and triumphs. This was his third stay in India, and he devoted it to the introduction of several important reforms. After remodelling the army, he restricted the private trade of the Company's servants. To compensate them for it, and to remove from them all temptation to receive bribes, he proposed to increase their salaries ; but this the Court of Directors would not sanction.

Clive's Third Period. 1765.

When Mir Jafar died in 1765, Clive set up that nawab's son, Najm-ud-daulah, in his place, but the conditions under which he ruled were greatly altered. He was to exercise only the powers of *Nizam*, and to be responsible for the peace of the three provinces of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa ; for the administration of justice in the courts ; and for the enforcement of obedience to law. The Company reserved to itself the *Diwani* of the provinces, that is to say, its business would be to collect the revenues, make all payments, and remit the surplus to its own treasury. This Dual System of Government did not work very long, for Najm-ud-daulah ceded his *Nizamat*, and was content to be a cypher in return for an annual allowance.

Dual System of Government.

The arduous toils of the years 1765 and 1766 completed the ruin of Clive's health, and, having accomplished his life's work, he left the service of the Company, and returned to England in 1767. Here his health never returned ; and eventually, in 1774, he put an end to himself.

While Clive and Warren Hastings were away from India, fresh complications took place in Southern India, where Muhammad Ali was Nawab of the Karnatic, Nazir Ali was *Nizam* of the Deccan, and Haidar Ali was Sultan of Mysore. In 1767 the Marathas invaded

First Mysore War, 1767-1769.

Mysore,* and were bought off by Haidar Ali, who was now joined by the Nizam, an ally of the English, who had contracted to assist him against his enemies. Accordingly, Colonel Smith was sent to support him; but he treacherously turned upon the English army. He was soon driven to sue for peace; but Haidar Ali had still to be taken into account. He pressed Madras so hard, that, in 1769, the English signed an inglorious treaty by which they pledged themselves in future to fight for the Sultan, when he was engaged in war. But it soon appeared that they had made a rash promise; for in 1770, the Marathas again invaded Mysore to recover tribute that had not been paid to the Peshwa, and were assisted by Muhammad Ali, the Nawab of the Karnatic. Now, this Nawab was a vassal of the English, and if they joined Haidar Ali against the Marathas it meant that they must fight against their ally. This they felt they could not do, and so they did not aid the Sultan against the Marathas. The result was that the invaders appropriated half of Mysore, and Haidar Ali never forgave the English for failing him in the hour of his need.

In the previous year Hastings had returned to India as a member of the Madras Council. In 1771, however, he was sent to Calcutta, where Verelst had

* The kingdom of Mysore has been frequently mentioned, and it has been seen that it was ruled over by Hindu kings. In 1731 Dud Kishen died, and imprisoning his successor Chama Raj, his two ministers Deva Raj and Nanja Raj usurped all power. Among the soldiers of Nanja Raj was one Haidar Saheb or Haidar Ali, whose ancestors came from the Punjab. By his talents he worked his way up to the command of an independent corps, and when later on territories were assigned to him, his ambition became so great that, displacing his patron, Nanja Raj, in 1760, he took possession of all Mysore, ascended its throne, and continued the imprisonment of Chama Raj. When his son, Tipu, succeeded him, he abolished the farce of a pageant ruler by reducing Krishna Raj Wadiar, Chama Raj's son to beggary, and removing him and his relations to a miserable hovel outside the city. Here they were found when Seringapatam fell before the English, in 1779, and the exile prince was taken under the protection of the British, and restored to the throne of Mysore.

been succeeded by Cartier as governor. On assuming the governorship of Calcutta, he immediately carried out the instructions which he had received from the Directors of the East India Company, and proceeded to take over

Hasting's Second Period. His Financial Revenue, and Judicial Reforms.

Bengal and Bihar absolutely, and to abolish the shadow of power which was all that now belonged to the Nawab of Murshidabad. These provinces, accordingly, passed into the actual possession of the English, and parcels of land were farmed out to men of means for a fixed annual rental. This was the origin of the Zemindars of Bengal and Bihar. Hastings also removed the Company's exchequer from Murshihabad to Calcutta. He appointed European officers, under the now familiar designation of Collectors, to superintend the

collection of revenue, and to preside over the courts of justice, which he established in every district. Appeals from these criminal and civil courts lay to the Sadar Diwani Adalat or Chief Civil Court at Calcutta, where also the Sardar Nizamat Adalat, or Chief Criminal Court, was founded. For the administration of justice, Hindu and Muhammadan laws were codified. Law-



WARREN HASTINGS.

lessness of all kinds, including *dakaiti*, was firmly put down. By these

measures Hastings laid the foundations of righteous rule over the lands which Clive's sword had won.

We saw that, as a result of the Battle of Buxar, in 1764, Shuja-ud-daulah, Nawab Wazir of Oudh, made over the districts of Kora and Allahabad to Shah Alam, and it was agreed that the English should hold them in his favour, and pay him annually twenty-six lakhs for Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa. But when the Marathas

The Rohilla War, 1772.

entered Delhi, in 1770, Shah Alam accepted their offer to restore him to the throne of the Mughals, and he transferred to them the districts of Kora and Allahabad which Clive had restored to him, in 1765. As a matter of fact, when he went to Delhi, he found that he was a prisoner, and Hastings, therefore, felt himself justified in refusing to continue to him the twenty-six lakhs for Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, and further in making over, through the Treaty of Benares, 1772, Kora and Allahabad to the Nawab Wazir of Oudh. In this same year the Marathas invaded Rohilkhand. The Nawab Wazir of Oudh and the English joined hands to help the Rohillas against their oppressors. The Marathas were driven beyond the Ganges, and the Rohillas were rescued from danger. But now, instead of paying the Nawab Wazir the money agreed upon as the price of his help, they entered into negotiations with the Marathas themselves. A combination between the two endangered Oudh and Bengal, and to Hastings it appeared that the only alternative was to conquer Rohilkhand, whose chiefs had broken faith with their allies. So the Nawab Wazir entered Rohilkhand, and with the assistance of the Company's troops defeated the Rohillas at Katra, 1774, and Rohilkhand changed masters.

These and other similar matters made it quite clear that the East India Company was something more than a mere body of traders. It was to be included among the ruling powers of the land; and it was proper that the English

Regulating Act of 1773.

Parliament should control its political affairs. Accordingly the Regulating Act of 1773 was passed. It established the High Court of Calcutta, as the supreme court for all India. The Governor of Calcutta was made Governor-General, and was to direct the Company's affairs at Bombay and Madras, with the assistance of a Council of four members. In practice, however, the Act did not work well, and Hastings found himself thwarted at every turn by Philip Francis, a member of his Council, and his bitter enemy. Francis and two other members formed a perpetual majority, and did all they could to insult and humiliate Hastings by opposing him in every matter. For instance, when Shuja-ud-daulah, Nawab Wazir of Oudh, died, he left the province to his son, Asaf-ud-daulah. The Company was in honour bound to continue to him the terms which had been settled by treaty with his father. But in spite of Hastings' protests, the Francis majority in Council, revised those terms, and imposed harder ones on him.

He was compelled to pay off his father's debts to the Company; to increase, by 50,000 rupees, the monthly subsidy for the British garrison in Oudh; and to agree that the revenues of Benares should be paid direct by his vassal, Chait Singh, to the English and not through him. Now, this was altogether unfair; for Chait Singh's grandfather had acquired his property under the Mughals, and was a vassal of the Nawab Wazir of Oudh, and an ally of the English, inasmuch as he was under promise to assist the Company with troops in time of need. But more than this, Hastings' protests notwithstanding, the Philip Francis majority permitted Asaf-ud-daulah's mother and grandmother, the Begums of Oudh, to appropriate about two crores of rupees, which Shuja-ud-daulah had left in his treasury. They already had large and valuable estates, and by Muhammadan law they had no right to Shuja-ud-daulah's treasure. While Hastings was fighting for a just cause, his personal enemy, Nanda

Asaf-ud-daulah and Chait Singh oppressed by the Council.

Kumar, accused him before his Council of various acts of fraud, oppression, and corruption. Hastings refused to be judged by his Council, and referred the matter to the Board of Directors. But Nanda Kumar fell into the pit which he had dug for Hastings. He was found guilty by the Supreme Court at Calcutta of obtaining a large sum of money from the estate of a dead man by means of a forged bond. The punishment for forgery was death, and Nanda Kumar was sent to the gallows. It was maliciously said that Hastings had contrived the removal of a man dangerous to him. But it has been clearly established that Hastings was as innocent of the charges brought against himself, as he was unconnected with the fate of Nanda Kumar.

It will be remembered that in 1773, the Maratha Peshwa, Narayan Rao, died, and his uncle, Raghunath Rao (or Raghoba as he is commonly called) was made Peshwa. But Nana Farnavis produced a posthumous son of Narayan Rao, and determined to secure the peshwaship to him, under the name of Madhu Rao II. The various Maratha chiefs thereupon entered the lists on opposite sides, and civil war began. Raghoba applied for help to the English at Bombay, and without the sanction of the Governor-General, by the Treaty of Surat they agreed to assist him, if he would give them Bassein and Salsette. This he reluctantly promised to do. Although Hastings thought differently, the Court of Directors approved of the Treaty of Surat; and so began the First Maratha War. With ill-judged haste the Bombay army marched against Poona; but it was hemmed in by the troops of Nana Farnavis, and had to retreat to Wargaoon. Here a Convention was signed, by which the English restored to the Peshwa all that they had won in Western India since 1765. Meanwhile, Raghoba had taken shelter with the English at Surat. Nana Farnavis demanded his surrender, and taking advantage of the known hatred which Haidar Ali, Sultan of Mysore, bore

First Maratha War, 1775.

Nanda Kumar.

to the English, he instigated the Sultan to enter upon hostilities against them. To do this Haidar Ali readily consented. Thus the Company was embroiled in practically two wars—one in the west against the Marathas, and one in the south against Mysore. The disgrace that had befallen the British at Wagaon, urged Hastings to push the war on in earnest with the Marathas, and Colonel Goddard, after a brilliant march across the peninsula, took Ahmadabad, defeated Sindhia and Holkar, and captured Bassein, while Captain Pophan reduced the rock-perched fortress of Gwalior. The Marathas now suffered a series of defeats, and were ready to accept terms. Accordingly the Treaty of Salbai was signed by Sindhia and his party, 1782. By it the Marathas undertook never more to enter into alliance with the French ; to permit no nation other than the English, to trade in their territories ; and to give Raghoba a pension of four lakhs a year. The English acknowledged Madhu Rao II as Peshwa, but retained Gwalior, and restored Bassein and Gujarat to the infant Peshwa, for whom Nana Farnavis had fought. Thus ended the First Maratha War.

Freed from the struggle with the Marathas, Hastings was now able to give all his attention to the war in the south. Its immediate cause was that against the remonstrance of Haidar Ali, the English had captured Mahé ; a French possession in Mysore. Haidar Ali was long-
 ing for an opportunity to take revenge upon the English, for allowing him to be deprived of half of his kingdom by the Marathas, in spite of the promise they had made him in the Treaty of Madras. So, joined by the French, and encouraged by the Marathas, he suddenly raided the Karnatic, captured Arcot, and appeared within nine miles of Madras, while his son, Tipu, laid siege to Wandiwash. Meanwhile Colonel Baillie was severely defeated at Conjeve-
 ram. Coote, however, soon came to the rescue from

Second Mysore War, 1780.

Bengal, and having worsted Haidar's army, near Porto Novo, went to the aid of Madras. Alarmed by the arrival of British reinforcements, Tipu raised the siege of Wandiwash; and the prospects of the Company still further improved by their victory at Shalingarh. But a new diversion was caused by a war breaking out in Europe, in which England fought against Holland and France. It spread to India, where the Dutch and the French offered assistance to Haidar Ali, with the result that the field had to be taken against them. In 1781, Negapatam and Trincomali were taken from the Dutch, but in the following year, they regained Trincomali and Cuddalore. Haidar Ali now died at Chittur, and in his turban—so it was said—was found a paper in which he directed his son, Tipu, to make peace with the English. But if the Marathas had laid aside their arms because of the Treaty of Salbai, the French were still waging war; and Tipu determined to fight on with their help. As has been elsewhere related, Bussy commanded the French forces, and several battles were fought with varying results, till the Treaty of Versailles terminated the warfare between the English and the French. Though left alone, Tipu did not yield till Mangalore was taken from him. Then he signed a treaty at that place, and each side had its former possessions restored.

The Treaties of Salbai and Mangalore mark an era in Indian history. Single-handed the English had triumphed over the combined armies of the Marathas, the French, the Dutch, and Haidar Ali. This finally established their superiority. The surrounding powers saw that a quarrel with the English would plunge them into a costly war, and that the probabilities of success were against themselves. The Marathas, too, realised that it was vain to endeavour to build a Hindu Empire on the ruins of the dominions of the Great Moghal.

But the prolonged wars by which this prestige was won, had emptied the Company's treasury. The proprietors of the Company grumbled at heavy expenditure

and no profits, and Hastings began to look about for means whereby to replenish the Company's coffers. It seemed to him that Raja Chait Singh of Benares and the Begums of Oudh had behaved in such a way during the recent wars as to justify him in punishing them with heavy fines. The conditions under which Chait Singh ruled from 1775, have already been stated. From that date his vassalage had been to the English, and not to the Nawab Wazir of Oudh. He had, moreover, bound himself to supply the English, in times of pressing need with money and men. During the late wars with the Marathas and Haidar Ali, Hastings had called upon him to send some troops. He had sent none. Were his breach of faith to be allowed to pass unvisited, other tributary chiefs might follow his example. This was obviously a serious matter; and after some parleying, Hastings imposed a fine of 50 lakhs on him. Chait Singh hesitated; Hastings proceeded to Benares to exact the penalty; and Chait Singh was made a prisoner in his own palace. He, however, managed to escape to Ramnagar, and put himself at the head of an army, part of which had been sent him by the Begums of Oudh. He was encountered by Popham at Bijaigarh, and defeated. But Popham's soldiers looted all the treasure they found, and Hastings therefore gained nothing for the Company. However, the province of Benares was given to Chait Singh's nephew on the condition that the revenue which his uncle had been accustomed to pay the Company was to be doubled.

It has already been related that the Begums of Oudh had, with the consent of the Council, but against law, and against Hastings' wish, possessed themselves of about two crores of rupees, which Shuja-ud-daulah had left on his death, and which in justice belonged to Asaf-ud-daulah. Deprived of nearly half his patrimony this prince was not able to pay his dues to the Company, indeed, year by year he was sinking deeper and deeper

into the Company's debt. He reminded Hastings of the circumstances under which the Begums had deprived him of his birthright. Left to Hastings they would never have had the money, and now that the Francis majority no longer hampered him, Hastings was willing to undo a shameful wrong. Besides this, the Begums had assisted Chait Singh in his rebellion, and it was necessary that they should be punished. He therefore signed the Treaty of Chunar which gave Asaf-ud-daulah permission to resume the *jagirs* of the Begums, and to recover from them the two crores of rupees of which they had deprived him. The Begums did not meekly submit. They fought against Asaf-ud-daulah, but he prevailed, and in addition to resuming their *jagirs* he took away from them the two crores of rupees. Hastings, however, saw that they were provided with liberal pensions. Asaf-ud-daulah now paid his debt to the Company.

In 1784 Pitt's India Bill was passed by Parliament. Recognising the great political power that the East India Company had become, it was now put under the direct control of a Board of Ministers.

Early in the following year Hastings laid down the reins of office in favour of Sir John Macpherson, and returned home. His career, if full of anxiety and toil, had been a distinguished one. When he came to Bengal, in 1772, he found the province in disorder and distress. Lawlessness prevailed on every side; the strong ever oppressed the weak. The Nawab of Bengal's officers and the servants of the Company plundered the peasants, and had no respect for authority. There was no proper form of government. Before he left these shores he had extended the influence, the prestige, and the honour of the Company. He replaced disorder by a set form of government and an established code of laws. His wisdom and foresight were so

great that it may in truth be said that the Indian Government of to-day is essentially the system which he introduced.

But he was not honoured as he deserved to be.

The Impeachment of Hastings.

His many enemies, instigated and tutored by men like Philip Francis, impeached him before the House of Lords for

his dealings with Chait Singh and the Begums of Oudh, and for the Rohilla War. For seven long years the trial lasted, and he was in the end honourably acquitted on every charge that his enemies had preferred against him. For a century his fame has been tarnished with the suspicion that he was responsible for the execution of Nanda Kumar, and for all the misery that men of the Francis type had charged him with producing. But recent investigation has endorsed his acquittal by Parliament, and to-day we remember him among the greatest men whom England has ever sent to India. It is true that the expenses of a protracted trial ruined him, for he did not return home as many others did, fabulously rich. But before he died, in 1818, he had the satisfaction of knowing that his nation honoured him. For when he was 80 years old he was summoned to give evidence on Indian affairs before the House of Commons, and as he left the House, the members rose, removed their hats, and stood in silence.

CHAPTER XII.

The Later Period of the Company :

The Building up of the English Empire in India,
The Governors-General after Hastings.

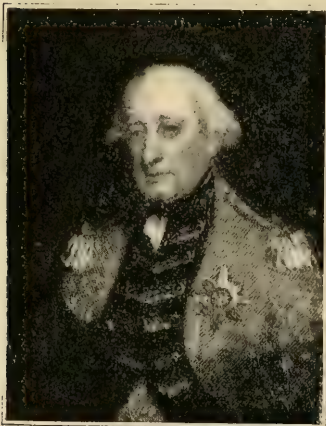
1785—1858 A.D.

SIR John Macpherson, 1785-1786,—Sir John Macpherson acted as Governor-General for twenty months; but nothing of any importance took place while he managed the affairs of the Company. It was, however, very evident that Tipu, though defeated, was not crushed, and that he was only waiting for something to occur that would give him an excuse for declaring war upon the English.

Lord Cornwallis, 1786-1793.—Lord Cornwallis came to India with the determination to adopt a policy of non-intervention in the

His Policy.

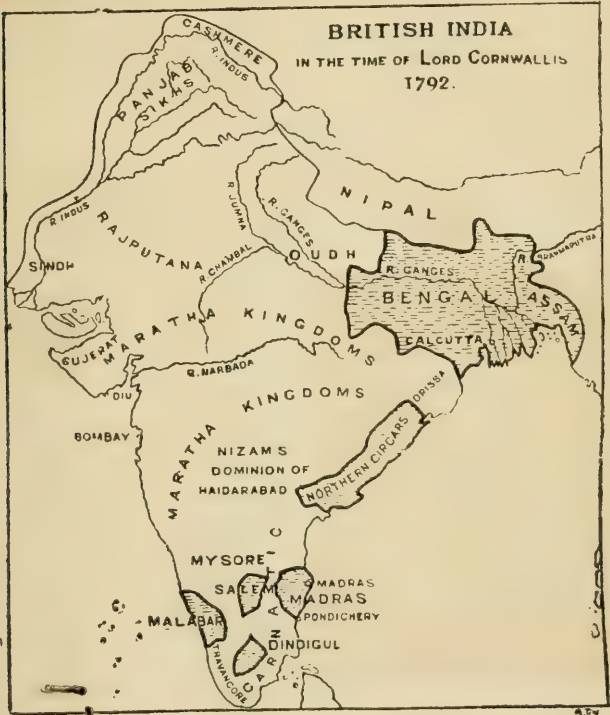
affairs of native states, and thus to keep out of wars, and to reform the Company's service. It will be remembered that both Clive and Warren Hastings tried to put down bribery and private trade, and that they did not meet with complete success. Cornwallis took more active steps to purify the service, and though he made himself unpopular by his measures, still he had the satisfaction of putting an end to much of the



Lord Cornwallis.

bribery and corruption that had hitherto been common in the Company's service.

As has been said, Tipu Sultan was still eager for war, and so he made an unprovoked attack on the Raja of Travancore, **The Third Mysore War. 1790-1792.** English. Of course there was no help for it but to take up the cause of the Raja; and so began the Third Mysore War, 1790-1792. The Nizam of Haidarabad was jealous of Tipu, and the Marathas were bitter against him for his cruel persecu-



tion of Hindus in the Deccan. It was, therefore, no difficult matter for Cornwallis to gain the co-operation of the Nizam and of Nana Farnavis. When all was ready Cornwallis went to the south, and himself conducted the war. After some reverses, Bangalore was taken by storm, in 1791, and Tipu retired for shelter to his capital, Seringapatam. The city was on the point of capitulating when Tipu sued for peace, which was granted him on condition that he ceded to the English the districts of Dindigal, Baramahal, and Malabar; that he restored Coorg to its Hindu Raja; that he paid a heavy fine; and that he delivered up two of his sons as hostages. Having concluded this war, Cornwallis turned his attention to the reformation of the Civil Service, and to the permanent settlement of the land revenues.

While the Mughals ruled, the taxes on land had been arbitrary, and the ryots never knew what would be exacted from them. They, therefore, did not feel secure, and had no wish to improve their fields, or to reclaim jungles, and uncultivated areas. Things were somewhat better when the English acquired the Diwani of Bengal, in 1765, for then the land taxes were fixed by annual or five yearly assessments. The Company's servants collected the revenues, and after deducting the Company's share of the taxes, handed the balance over to the zemindars. In 1789 a change was made by which the zemindars themselves collected the revenues, and paid its share of the income to the Company. But in 1793 Cornwallis decided upon fixing the revenues of Bengal once and for all, so far as the Company was concerned. He accordingly directed the zemindars to give the ryots *pattas* of their lands and to levy the land tax fairly. When this was done the ryots, feeling safe against exactions, began to clear jungles and reclaim swamps. They soon became a contented peasantry, and the zemindars grew into a body of loyal and respectable gentry. ' While

The Permanent Settlement of Bengal, 1793.

the natives of the soil gained by the Permanent Settlement, as it is called, the British have in the end lost much revenue. For whereas the value and area of rented land has increased immeasurably, and zemindars are realising greatly increased incomes, the Government of to-day is receiving just the same revenue as it did in 1793. But if there has been a loss in money, there has been an incalculable gain politically. The foundation of all government is in the goodwill of the subjects, and the Permanent Settlement of Bengal has bound the people in loyal devotion to the British Government.

Reforms the Civil Service. The Civil Service was full of inconsistencies. Some rules prevailed in some places, other rules in other places. The result was that the servants of the Company had no proper set of regulations for their guidance. Cornwallis desired to introduce more order and uniformity. He therefore published a Code "which defined and set bounds to authority, created procedure, guarded against miscarriage of justice, and founded the Civil Service of India as it exists to this day."

Adopts the policy of Non-intervention. Sir John Shore, 1793-1798, was the next Governor-General. He meant to follow a non-intervention policy, that is to say, he did not think it right for the English to take sides in the quarrels of Indian princes, or in any way to try to arbitrate between them. This may at one time have been possible; but previous Governors-General had promised certain rulers, *e.g.*, the Nizam of Haidarabad, to help them in the event of their being attacked by another power. The observance of a non-intervention policy necessitated inaction, and in such cases inaction amounted to a breach of treaties. The Marathas were quick to observe that the new Governor-General would not act as a check on their ambitions, and they saw in the present a favourable opportunity for combining to crush the Nizam of Haidarabad.

Nana Farnavis led the forces of the Maratha Confederacy, and the Nizam suffered a fatal defeat at the Battle of Kurdla, 1795, and was obliged to cede to the victors much of his territories, and to pay them three crores of rupees. But later experience of Indian politics convinced Sir John Shore that a policy of non-intervention was a mistake. Accordingly, when the misrule of Oudh became intolerable, he deposed the Nawab Wazir, and set up Saadat Ali in his stead.

The Marquis of Wellesley, 1798-1805.—Lord Mornington, who was afterwards created Marquis of Wellesley, succeeded. The **Fourth Mysore War.** non-intervention policy of Shore had led Tipu Sultan to cherish the idea that he might do as he pleased without running any risk. He even dared to intrigue with the French against the English. To counteract their union, Wellesley immediately entered into a treaty with the unfortunate Nizam of Haidarabad, by which the latter agreed to dismiss all French officers in his army, to employ no Frenchmen in his kingdom, and to accept an English army of 6000 sepoys, with English commanders and artillery, for his protection against external wars. Two years later, his much dreaded enemies the Marathas, threatened to invade the Deccan, and the Nizam, greatly alarmed, asked for an increased force, offering to give the Company all he had conquered from Tipu, and to submit all his disputes to British arbitration.

Meanwhile, encouraged by the presence of Napoleon Bonaparte in Egypt (where eventually Nelson so completely broke the power of the French), Tipu invited the French to join him in waging war upon the English. Wellesley felt that no time was to be lost, and supported by the Nizam and the Marathas, he promptly sent General Harris into Mysore. Tipu's army was defeated at Malvelli, and his capital Seringapatam was besieged and taken (1800). Tipu himself was slain in the breach

by which the British entered the city. So ended the Fourth (and last) Mysore war. Kanara, Coimbatore, Darapuram, and some other portions of Mysore were annexed ; Gooty and Gurramkonda were made over to the Nizam, and what remained of Tipu's dominions was given to Krishna Raj Wadiar, the lawful representative of the old Hindu Rajas of Mysore, whom Haidar Ali had dispossessed. Thus not only was a troublesome neighbour blotted out, but also French influence received another fatal blow.

While war was preparing between Tipu Sultan and the English, Muhammad Ali, the Nawab of the Karnatic, thought he would secure himself by joining what appeared to him to be the stronger side. And so he had entered into negotiations with Tipu. For thus forgetting his treaty obligations to the Company, on the conclusion of the late war, the entire civil and military government of the Karnatic was assumed by the English, who, on Muhammad Ali's death, allowed his heir one-fifth of the annual revenues. At the same time by the consent of the princes of Tanjore and Surat these territories practically passed into the hands of the Company. The province of Oudh had always been the cause of more or less anxiety ; for beside its own unsettled internal condition, it was the only door through which the British possessions in Bengal could be invaded. A threatened invasion by Shah Zeman, brought things to a head, and feeling that the Nawab Wazir, Saadat Ali, could not possibly repel the invader, Wellesley demanded of the Wazir that he should pay for the maintenance of a larger British subsidiary army for the protection of Oudh. After some resistance the Wazir signed the Treaty of Lucknow, in 1801, by which he ceded the Doab and Rohilkhand to form a barrier between Oudh and enemies from the north, and to pay for the up-keep of the increased British force in Oudh. Whatever may be thought of Wellesley's dealings with the Wazir, he at

**Dealings with
Oudh and other
States.**

any rate was satisfied with the reflection that whereas he had found Oudh a danger to the British in India, he had converted it into a safeguard and a support. And as we look into the past we are forced to the conclusion that if Wellesley had at this time taken complete control of Oudh, perhaps the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 would never have occurred.

On the death of Nana Farnavis, in 1800, there was a general scramble among the members of the Maratha Confederacy for supreme power. Now Holkar prevailed over Sindhia, and now Sindhia triumphed over Holkar; and between the two, the Peshwa, Baji Rao II, was in a very difficult position. In 1802, he was in the power of Sindhia, so that when Holkar defeated his rival, and entered Poona he made Warnak Rao Peshwa. Baji Rao II fled to Bassein, and there appealed to the English for help. His petition was favourably received, and he signed the Treaty of Bassein by which it was agreed that an English force was to be always retained in the Peshwa's dominions; that part of these dominions was to be given to the Company for the maintenance of this force; and that the peshwa would enter upon neither treaties nor wars without the approval of the English. This Treaty of Bassein marks an important stage in the history of the British in India; for whereas previously to it there had existed a British Empire *in* India, the treaty gave the Company the Empire *of* India.

As soon as the Marathas found that the exiled Peshwa had been taken under the protection of the Company they were alarmed, and, forgetting their own petty jealousies and differences, they made a strong combination against the common foe whose armies had subdued the Nizam and crushed Tipu. Under the protection of the English, Baji Rao re-entered Poona, and so the Maratha chiefs were brought to bay. General Sir Arthur

Treaty of Bassein

Second Maratha War, 1803.

Wellesley (brother to the Governor-General, and better known in history as the great Duke of Wellington, who won the Battle of Waterloo), took Ahmadnagar, and, while Holkar kept aloof in Malwa, uncertain how to act, defeated the combined forces of Sindhia and Bhonsla at Assaye, and the army of the latter at Argaon. The fortress of Gawilgarh was next captured, and Bhonsla, laying down arms, signed the Treaty of Deogaon, by which among other things he gave up all claims to *chaut* from the Nizam, and ceded a tract of country including Cuttack. Thus ended the war in the Deccan. Meanwhile, the army of Sindhia, under the French general, Perron, held out in Northern India where General Lake took Aligarh, and won the Battle of Delhi. After releasing the aged Emperor, Shah Alam, from the imprisonment which he had experienced for some years, at the hands of the Marathas, Lake added the capture of Agra to his previous successes, and finally annihilated the army of Sindhia at the Battle of Laswari. This chieftain had no alternative but to come to terms, and he signed the Treaty of Surji Arjangaon, by which he gave the English the tract of land between the Ganges and the Jumna, Baroch, as well as other portions of his dominions, including Ahmadnagar, which was made over to the Peshwa, Baji Rao II. Moreover, as the French had assisted him in fighting, he was obliged to contract never to entertain the subjects of any nation at war with the English. So concluded the Second Maratha War, which began and ended in 1803.

But though Bhonsla and Sindhia had been humbled, Holkar had yet to be disposed of. He had not taken any part in the Second Maratha War; but he had been by no means idle. He had employed the interval in gathering together an army of 80,000 trained soldiers, and when he considered himself strong enough to take the field, even against the English, he began to ravage Malwa and Rajputana. Now, the Rajput chiefs were British

Third Maratha
War, 1803-1804.

allies, and the only reply he gave to remonstrances from Calcutta was to sack Ajmir. War was now inevitable. Accordingly, three British armies moved against him from different directions. Lake advanced from Delhi; Colonel Murray from Gujarat, and Colonel Monson from Central India. Monson, worsted in every engagement, was obliged to retreat to Agra, but Murray gained possession of Indore, Holkar's capital. Holkar then laid siege to Delhi, but retired on the approach of Lake. The English army then triumphed at Farukhabad and Dig; but the attempt to take the fortress of Bhartpur, whose Raja had deserted the English for Holkar, failed, and its Raja was given favourable terms. The progress of the war, however, had convinced the Gaekwar of Baroda that the English were irresistible, and he entered into a subsidiary alliance with the Company. Holkar was now the only member of the Maratha Confederacy who was outside such an alliance, and though he was single-handed in the strife, he so bravely kept the field that Sindhia and Bhonsla were encouraged to throw off their alliance with the British. By this time the Court of Directors had grown weary of Wellesley's ceaseless wars, and recalled him. But in order to trace the present war to its close let us anticipate events. When, on the death of Lord Cornwallis, Sir George Barlow came as Governor-General, in 1805, he brought with him the distinct order that peace should be made without delay. And so, although Holkar could not have held out much longer, the war was concluded on the easiest terms by Barlow, who to pacify Sindhia gave him Gohud and Gwalior.

In the time of Akbar, it will be remembered that peace had been introduced by the presence of one dominant emperor, and Wellesley was convinced that the only means by which peace could again be secured, was by some one power again becoming supreme. He determined that the English should be that power, and his administration was guided by the leading idea. He

therefore devised the system of Subsidiary Alliances. Every native state entering into such an alliance paid for the presence within it of a body of British troops for the preservation of internal order, and for its protection against external foes. It also maintained a contingent of native soldiers to act with the British forces in times of emergency. It engaged to have no political dealings with other powers except in concert with the English Government, and undertook to submit to British arbitration all disputes with aliens. Thus in point of fact, in return for protection, all subsidiary states placed themselves in a position of dependence upon the East India Company.

**The System of
Subsidiary
Treaties.**

When Wellesley came to India, what with Tipu Sultan, and the French, and the Marathas, the land was rent by war. Wellesley asserted British dominancy over them. By his aggressive policy he destroyed the Muhammadan power of the south. By drawing into Subsidiary Alliances every member of the Maratha Confederacy, excepting only Holkar, he created a system of imperial rule, and acquired for England the Empire of India, thereby extinguishing the last lingering hopes of the French and the Dutch in the East. For this achievement he holds a high place among the architects of British fortunes in India. He changed the character of the East India Company from a mere body of traders to a Government with imperial responsibilities, and he has therefore been aptly called "the Great Pro-Consul of India."

**Wellesley's
Work.**

Lord Cornwallis (again) **1805**—Cornwallis, whose previous administration had proved his desire to promote peace and to develop the resources of the British possessions in India, was sent out to succeed Wellesley. He had clear instructions to terminate the wars with the Marathas ; but before he could accomplish anything he died at Ghazipur, and was buried there.

Sir George Barlow, 1805-1807.—It has already been mentioned that as soon as Sir George Barlow came he made peace with Holkar, and to such extremes did he carry the non-intervention policy, that when Sindhia and Holkar took their revenge on the Rajputs, he left them to the tender mercies of the Marathas—Wellesley's compact with them notwithstanding.

Velore Mutiny, 1806. At Vellore the sepoys grew discontented, and, urged by the descendants of Tipu, they massacred 113 European soldiers in the garrison. The mutiny was easily put down, and Tipu's family was removed to Bengal. Sir George Barlow was recalled as having been an unsuccessful ruler.

Lord Minto, 1807-1813.—Encouraged by the inactivity of the English, who now allowed the non-intervention policy to regulate all their dealings with native rulers, bands of outlaws (the most notorious of whom were the Pathans and the Pindaris) began to flourish in Western and Central India, where they devastated the country, and made the people homeless. But when Bandalkhand, which bordered on British territory, became the scene of pillage and the murder of inoffensive people, Lord Minto thought it was better to put down these outlaws than to wait till they actually raided British territory. He accordingly sent troops after them, and in 1812 they were suppressed for the time being. Kalinjar was taken, and the country pacified. At the same time a protective treaty was made with Ranjit Singh of Lahore, by which the latter bound himself not to interfere with the Sardars of the Cis-Sutlej State.

War was at this time going on between England and France, and it was feared that the French would make one more effort to drive the English out of

India. As a safeguard, Lord Minto sent embassies to the courts of Sindh, Kabul, and Persia, whose rulers in consequence engaged to have no dealings with the French, nor give them any assistance. He also made a friendly treaty with the Baluchi chiefs. But it was felt that something more definite than this should be done to check the French and the Dutch, who had begun to waylay British ships on the high seas, and plunder them. Mauritius and its adjacent islands belonged to France, and from them the piratical vessels started on their errands of spoliation. To put a stop to the loss thus caused to the Company's trade, Lord Minto sent an expedition against Mauritius, and took it and its neighbouring islands from the French. Similarly the Dutch were stripped of their possessions in the East Indies.

Embassies to
Sindh, Kabul,
and Persia.

Another important event took place in 1813. Hitherto, it will be remembered, the East India Company had held the monopoly of Indian trade. That is to say, no private person or body of merchants was allowed to carry on commerce with India. When Parliament now renewed the Charter, it withdrew from the Company the exclusive right which it had hitherto enjoyed, of trading with this country, but did not deprive it of its monopoly in tea or of trade with China.

Abolition of
the Company's
Indian Mono-
poly, 1813.

Lord Moira, (afterwards Marquis of Hastings), 1813-1823.—On the retirement of Minto, Lord Moira succeeded. He found that he was called upon to deal with a certain class of dangerous brigands and warlike men, known respectively as the Pindaris and the Pathans. Added to the restlessness which these enemies to peace created, there was the growing turbulence of the Marathas. The weakness shown in Lord Minto's dealings with Holkar and Sindhia, encouraged in the Marathas

The Marathas,
Pindaris, and
Pathans.

the notion that the time was near at hand when they would avenge the past, expel the English from India, and once more restore the days of Sivaji. Their acts of defiant lawlessness knew no bounds. In the Pindaris and the Pathans they found allies ready to receive their assistance, and quick to do their bidding. The Pindaris flourished in the valley of the Narbada. They were descended in most instances from soldiers who had been in the Mughal army during its palmy days. The robber instinct was so strong in them that they could not lead peaceful lives. Under the leadership of chiefs like Wasil Muhammad, Karim Khan, and Chitu, they yearly set out on their hardy ponies to burn, plunder and destroy. Their depredations extended from Mysore to the basin of the Jumna. They had no form of government nor any definite policy, but joined Holkar or Sindhia as best suited them, or as either was the more likely to win. In 1809, they had raided Gujarat; in 1812 they had pillaged Mirzapur; and now, in 1816, they came like a swarm of locusts into the Northern Circars, and Moira felt it was time to extirpate them.

The Pathans were a more respectable and better organised body of freebooters. The Pindaris attacked villages and their helpless inhabitants; the Pathans preyed upon governments and princes. They were better disciplined than the Pindaris, and rendered obedience to their leaders, chief among whom was Amir Khan. They devoted their energies especially to Rajputana.

What with the Marathas, the Pindaris, and the Pathans, Central India was indeed in a sad plight. The native states were demoralised; society was disorganised; the peasants and artisans had no heart to carry on the duties of their daily life. While robber bands infested the country, the local armies themselves existed only to trample on the people. In a word, government there was none. Like Wellesley, Hastings felt that the only salvation of India lay in the arising of some one paramount power whose mighty arm would be strong enough

to keep under the warring elements and protect the peasantry—a power which by alliances and force of arms would build up an empire even greater than that of the Mughals. But before he could dispose of the Pindaris and the Pathans, his attention was demanded in another direction.

Of late the hardy mountaineers of Nepal, known as the Gurkhas, had taken to making incursions into the valley of the Ganges which belonged to the English. When the Governor-General proposed to fix their frontiers, they became more daring and defiant, and as they continued their inroads into British territory, it was evident that nothing short of war would persuade them to mend their ways. Accordingly, the deep jungles of the Himalayas were entered by a British army, under command of General Ochterlony. The rugged mountain sides were of great advantage to the Gurkhas who were quite at home in the precipices and ravines of the greatest mountain range in the world. The war opened unfavourably to the English; for although General Gillespie took the fort of Kalanga, they experienced a reverse at Jaitak. The occupation of a portion of the Terai, and the co-operation of the Raja of Sikkim, partially compensated for this misfortune.

**Gurkha War,
1814-1816.**

The news of the failure of English arms in the war against the Gurkhas naturally encouraged the Marathas, who, like the Pathans and the Sikhs, began to give fresh signs of activity. The Pindaris, too, finding the English sufficiently occupied with the Gurkhas, prepared to make a raid into British territory. Altogether the outlook was far from pleasant. But internal dissensions weakened the counsels of the Marathas, and a threatened attack on Ranjit Singh, the leader of the Sikhs, by the Amir of Kabul, prevented the Marathas and the Sikhs from entering upon hostilities against the English. The Pindaris did not feel that single-handed they could defy the English, and so they too held back from doing

any mischief. Hastings, with a feeling of relief, bent all his energies to the war with the Gurkhas. To cause a diversion, with the help of Rohilla levies, he invaded the Nepalese province of Kumaun, and gained possession of it, together with its many strongholds. The tide of war now turned in favour of the English, and their further successes gave them possession of all Nepal west of the river Kali, and of Jaitak. The Gurkhas came to terms, and signed the Treaty of Segauli (1816). By it they were required to cede all the country conquered by the English from the Sutlej to the Kali, and that portion of the Terai between the Kali and the Gandak. But the mountaineers did not ratify the treaty till General Ochterlony marched within 20 miles of Katmandu, and captured Hariharpur. Then the independence of the Sikkim Raja was assured, and he and the Nawab Wazir of Oudh were rewarded for the support they had given. A frontier was traced out and marked by pillars of masonry, and in lieu of an annual subsidy of two lakhs of rupees a greater part of the Terai was restored to Nepal. Ever since this time the Gurkhas have been loyal to the English.

Now that the Gurkha War was over, Hastings was able to give his attention to the
Pindari War, Pindaris, who at this time ravaged the
 1817. Northern Circars and Orissa. His first care was to deprive them of allies, and so he entered into subsidiary alliances with Malwa, Bhopal, Udaipur, Jodhpur, Baji Rao II, (the Peshwa,) and Amir Khan, the chief of the Pathans. Hastings himself took command of the army, and deprived the Pindaris of the help which Sindhia was ready to give them, by making the latter come to terms at Gwalior. The Pindaris, from their headquarters in Malwa, had been watching the progress of events. Unable any longer to remain inactive, they raided Bandelkhand, being led by Wasil Muhammad. At the same time the Peshwa and Bhonsla assisted them, and the Third Maratha War

began. But Hastings pressed the Pindaris till, in 1817, they were driven out of Malwa and beyond the Chambal. They then sued for peace, and have since never caused further trouble. To Amir Khan, the Pathan leader, the principality of Tonk was given, and thus the Pathan organisation came to an end. The Rajput Chiefs were rewarded for their loyal support, and a British Resident was stationed at Ajmir.

In their anxiety to see the English expelled from India, the Maratha Houses combined once more, and, as has been said, openly gave help to the Pindaris. **Third Maratha War, 1817-1819.** Baji Rao II, the Peshwa, throwing aside his treaty, attacked the British Residency at Poona. Sindhia was not able to do much mischief, for he was still overawed at Gwalior. Bhonsla's contribution to the war was inconsiderable, for at the very outset he was reduced to submission, and was obliged to cede Berar. Holkar's troops were put to flight at Mehidpur, 1817; the young Mulhar Rao Holkar became a ward of the Company, and relinquished all claims in Rajputana. Baji Rao II, the Peshwa, was driven from Poona, and defeated at Ashta, in 1819. He then surrendered; his entire dominions were taken from him; Satara and Kolhapur were restored to descendants of Sivaji; and he remained a state prisoner at Cawnpur until his death. The war was now over, and the Marathas had been finally crushed.

With the return of peace, Hastings was able to give internal affairs his attention. He extended the subsidiary system of Wellesley, and knitted the various independent states together by entering into alliances with them, and the British Government of India may be said to have at this time received its character—an imperial federation of friendly states clustering round one central paramount power. Then, with respect to the courts of the ~~land~~ ^{land}, the magistrates were required to perform the duties of both judges and collectors of revenue. Hastings

Hasting's Internal Measures.

opened schools for the education of India, and he gave freedom to the vernacular press. The result was that five native journals began to be printed and published. It is from this time that the moral and intellectual advancement of the people of the country has been recognised as a duty of the State, and their claim to participate in the work of the British Government has been held as an axiom.

Lord Amherst, 1823-1827.—Between the departure of the Marquis of Hastings and the arrival of Lord Amherst, there was an interval of seven months, during which Mr. Adam acted as Governor-General. As soon as Amherst arrived he found himself drawn into a war with Burma. For some years past the Burmese had been disturbing the peace of Eastern India by making destructive raids into British territory. Finding that active measures were not taken against them, they became more and more daring, and put a climax to their insolence by claiming Chittagong, Dacca, and Murshidabad as being parts of their ancient kingdom. Finally they seized and ill-treated British subjects, and it became evident that nothing short of war would persuade them to live at peace with their neighbours. Lord Amherst accordingly made preparations for an expedition into Burma, and British troops were soon in possession of Rangoon and Kemendine. But they suffered a defeat at Ramu. This reverse, however, was speedily compensated by the conquest, in 1825, of Assam, Cachar, and Manipur, and by the occupation of Pegu, Arrakan, and Tenasserim. Then came the fall of Donabyu, and the capture of Prome. Finding his losses thickening around him, the Burmese king thought it time to make peace. So he ended the war in 1826 by signing the Treaty of Yendabu by which he ceded Assam, Arrakan and the coast of Tenasserim. He also undertook not to interfere with Manipur, Cachar, and

Jaintia ; to pay an indemnity of one crore of rupees ; and to receive a British Resident at his capital.

When the Marathas were finally overthrown the Raja of Bhartpur arranged with the English that his infant son, Balwant Singh, should succeed him. But when the Raja died in 1825, a cousin of the child, Durjan Sal, usurped the throne. Lord Amherst at first remonstrated with him ; but, as he remained defiant, Lord Combermere was sent to dislodge him from Bhartpur. The eyes of all India were turned with the keenest interest to this stronghold, for it was considered impregnable—more especially as in 1805 Lord Lake had failed to take it. But it was now captured ; Balwant Singh was set on its throne ; and English prestige was restored. Lord Amherst improved the occasion by going to Delhi, the ancient capital of the Mughals, and there issuing a proclamation that the East India Company was the paramount power in India.

**Capture of
Bhartpur,
Jany., 1827.**

Lord William Bentinck, 1828-1835. — Bentinck had formerly been Governor of Madras, and so he had the advantage of some knowledge of Indian affairs. The First Burmese War had drained the Company's treasury, and Bentinck's express orders from the Court of Directors were to cut down expenditure and increase the revenue. He found two directions in which a saving might be effected—one in the army and the other in the civil service. Hitherto soldiers on active service had been given an extra allowance called Batta, or more correctly *Bhatta*. For some years past the Directors had objected to the payment of Batta, and so Bentinck reduced the amount of the allowance, in spite of the discontent his order created. Furthermore, every appointment in the higher grades of the civil service had hitherto been reserved for Englishmen. Bentinck felt that educated Indians

**Reduction of
Batta, and the
Admission of
Indians into the
Public Service.**

would do the work efficiently and on much smaller salaries. He, therefore, threw open various departments of the public services to Indians. This measure, without in the smallest degree lowering the efficiency of the civil services, resulted in a great reduction of expenditure. Then again in casting about for means whereby to increase the revenues, Bentinck thought of the opium traffic of Malwa. He accordingly made the manufacture of opium a government monopoly, and there was an immediate addition to the income of the Company. Having by these measures restored the balance between income and expenditure, he was free to work out certain important social reforms.

Suppression of Thagi. Owing to the breaking up of such bands of men as the Pindaris, and the lack of work for those who had been in the various armies of Indian chiefs, the country abounded with men for whom a peaceful life had no charm. These restless spirits gathered together in Central India, and became the terror and curse of the land from Haidarabad to Oudh, and from Bandelkhand to Rajputana. They went by the name of Thags. Murder was part of their creed, and plunder their sole occupation. They wandered from place to place without anything to betray who they were. They joined themselves to travellers, gained their confidence, suddenly strangled them, and, having robbed the corpses, buried them in the jungles. With the help of Major Sleeman, Bentinck determined to stamp them out. Within six years their bands were broken up; several thousands of them were captured; many of them were hanged, and more of them were transported.

Suppression of Sati and Infanticide. For centuries it had been the practice of a Hindu widow to burn herself with her husband's corpse. The English had always revolted against such a cruel custom, and Bentinck thought it ought to be put down. Leaders of Hindu society, like Dwarkanath Tagore and

Rammohan Roy, asserted that it was opposed to the teachings and spirit of Hinduism. As a matter of fact it had already been disallowed by the French, the Dutch, and the Danes, in their Indian territories, and even in English possessions where a firm hand ruled. Bentinck, after much careful consideration, made a law by which any one assisting at a Sati, as the practice of widow-burning was called, or any one concealing a Sati, was guilty in the sight of the law, and was liable to severe punishment. He also forbade the murder of infant daughters. In this humane work he received valuable help from many distinguished English officers, including Colonel John Sutherland, by whose influence with the bigoted Rajput Chiefs these cruel practices were peaceably suppressed in Rajputana, where they had been most prevalent.

On the eve of his retirement from the country Lord Amherst had visited Simla which had recently been acquired. In 1830 Bentinck purchased the remainder of the hill from the Maharaja of Patiala, and made Simla the summer residence of the Governor-General. Five years later he bought Darjeeling from the Raja of Sikkim, and thus he gave British India two of its most popular hill stations.



Company's Pice of 1833.

In 1833 Parliament renewed the Charter of the East India Company for another twenty years. By the terms of the new Charter

Renewal of the Charter, 1833.

the Company retired from trade, and became a Government pure and simple. The monopoly of the trade of India had already been withdrawn (1813), and now also trade with China was thrown open to all comers. The administrative affairs of the Company were placed under the control of Parliament, which guaranteed it against all losses. The country has greatly benefited by this Charter ; for since its time the Government has not been cramped by commercial considerations when these have clashed with the interests of the people. The welfare of Indian subjects, and not dividends to shareholders, has become the only anxiety of our rulers.

In every age and in every country, the language of the rulers or the learned has been the official language of the country. In the early Hindu period we have seen that this was the case with Sanskrit ; and when the English came in the time of the Mughals, they found that Persian was the language of the courts of the country. Though the British had become the paramount power they had not altered the legal language ; but Bentinck thought it time that Persian should give way to English. Accordingly in 1835 he made English the official language of British India, and a knowledge of it a qualification for admission into the public services. From 1813 all teaching in Indian schools had been through the vernacular languages. But from this time English began to be taught in the higher classes of schools ; and in a country, such as ours, with its numerous creeds and tongues, the introduction of a common language has done perhaps even more than the railway and telegraph system to bind the peoples of India and Great Britain into one great brotherhood. Had Indians continued to be taught only Sanskrit, and Persian, and Arabic, they could never have taken a share in the Government of India as they are doing to-day.

The time, however, had come for Bentinck to lay

down his office. How grateful our country is to him may be read on the monument which chiefly Hindu subscriptions raised to him in Calcutta :—"Who never forgot that the end of Government is the happiness of the governed ; who abolished cruel rites ; who effaced humiliating distinctions ; who gave liberty to the expression of public opinion ; whose constant study it was to elevate the intellectual and moral character of the natives committed to his charge."

Retirement of Bentinck, and his Services to India.

Sir Charles Metcalfe, 1835-1836.—Pending the arrival of Bentinck's successor, Sir Charles Metcalfe took up the duties of Governor-General. He gave freedom to the Indian Press ; that is to say, authors of books and editors of newspapers were no longer required to obtain permission to publish what they wrote. This was a great gain ; for now every one could say what was in his mind, and Government received much help from what the public thought on matters of common interest.

Liberty given to the Indian Press.

Lord Auckland, 1836-1842 — When Lord Auckland arrived it was feared that Russia had designs upon India, and that the Tsar was therefore making friendly advances to Dost Muhammad, the Amir of Afghanistan. Desirous of gaining the alliance of the Amir, and so of interposing a friendly power between Russia and India, the Governor-General sent an ambassador to his Court. But largely through mismanagement of the negotiations, the embassy ended in the declaration of a war, whose object was to dethrone Dost Muhammad and to set upon the Kabul throne Shah Shuja, a descendant of Ahmad Shah Durani. Shah Shuja was then an exile under British protection in Ludhiana, and as soon as the help of Ranjit Singh was secured, a large army was marched

His Policy.

First Afghan War.

into Afghanistan, and Shah Shuja was proclaimed Amir at Kandahar. But he was not acceptable to the Afghans. The war had therefore to be carried further into the heart of Afghanistan, and Kabul was taken. Ranjit Singh died at this time, and the English troops unassisted by the Sikhs, marched on Ghazni which fell before them. Shah Shuja's rival, Dost Muhammad, fled across the Balkan frontier; but for all that he did not give up fighting, for he had many followers who preferred him to Shah Shuja. It was not wise to force a king on a people who did not want him; and the result was that for two years the English had to hold Afghanistan by the presence of an army and of a Resident—Sir William MacNaghten—at Kabul. But in the hearts of the Afghans there still was war; and when, in 1840, Dost Muhammad reappeared with an army, large numbers joined him. Eventually he surrendered himself to the English, and was sent to India (Nov. 1840) on a yearly pension. But the Afghans were by no means overthrown. Suddenly they murdered Sir Alexander Burnes, the Political Agent. Dost Muhammad's eldest son, Akbar Khan, invited MacNaghten to a friendly meeting, and while saluting him, treacherously murdered him (1841). General Sale too was soon hard pressed, being indeed cooped up in Jalalabad. On all sides the enemy, led by Akbar Khan, thickened, and the English officers at Kabul, to some extent panic-stricken, were glad to accept any terms offered them. The troops there, commanded by Major Pottinger, were allowed to depart on condition that they abandoned their guns and treasure; that they paid a heavy fine; and that they gave four officers as hostages. If they satisfied these demands they were promised a safe retreat. It was the depth of winter. The country was a net-work of mountains. The British soldiers were ill clad, and many of them perished in the severe cold. To add to their sufferings the faithless enemy began to fire upon them from the heights above. They had no means

of defending themselves, for they had given up their guns. They were now (January, 1842) in the Kurd Kabul Pass, and their case was desperate. Akbar Khan made a proposal. It was that the ladies in the English camp should be placed under his care. There seemed no alternative but to consent. So the women were committed to his protection. But the worst had yet to come. On the following day, as the British were marching, the enemy fell on them in a narrow pass, and cut them to pieces. Of the 16,500 who had started in retreat from Kabul one solitary man, Dr. Brydon, reached Jalalabad to tell the story of the sad fate of the Indian army. Never had such a disaster overtaken British arms in the East. The only bright spots in the surrounding gloom were Jalalabad, where General Sale was making a brave defence, and Kandahar, where General Nott was nobly holding out. The Home Government blamed Lord Auckland for the course of the war, and he was recalled.

Lord Ellenborough, 1842-1844, was sent to retrieve British honour. He despatched General Pollock, who, taking Ali Masjid, **First Afghan War Concluded.** pressed through the Khaibar Pass into Afghanistan. The enemy retreated from Jalalabad, and raised the siege of Kandahar. Shah Shuja was, however, at this time, murdered, and Akbar Khan assumed the reins of government on behalf of his exiled father, Dost Muhammad. Generals Pollock and Nott moved from different directions against Kabul, destroying every fortress in the line of their march, including the fortress of Ghazni, whose English garrison had at an earlier stage of the war been almost annihilated. Kabul was then taken, and its bazar was blown up. The Afghans were now in a mood for peace. It was clear to Ellenborough that Dost Muhammad was the only man who could govern them, and as they wanted him to be their king, he was released from his imprisonment in Calcutta,

and reinstated on the throne of Afghanistan. The British troops were then withdrawn, and the condition of affairs before the war was restored, except that the English had forfeited the friendship of the Afghans.

No sooner was the war with Afghanistan brought to a close than Ellenborough had to turn his attention to Sindh, whose rulers were Baluchi Chiefs. Lord Minto, it will be remembered, had made a friendly treaty with them ; but the reverses which the British had experienced in Afghanistan encouraged them to try to rid themselves of their obligations to the English. They, therefore, made an attack on the British Residency. Sir Charles Napier conducted the war for Ellenborough, and signally defeated the Amir of Sindh in the battles of Miani and Haidarabad. The Chiefs of Sindh were sent as prisoners to Benares, and Sindh itself was annexed.

Scarcely had the war with Sindh been concluded when Ellenborough was called upon to interfere in the affairs of Gwalior. A dispute between rival chiefs as to who should be Regent to the young Sindhia, plunged Gwalior into civil war, and the danger was lest there should be a general rising in Northern India. Ellenborough felt this must be averted ; and so he sent Lord Gough with an army against the contending parties in Gwalior. Gough won the battles of Maharajpur and Panniar and thus put himself in a position to settle the disputes which had involved the state in war. No regent was appointed ; but a council of six Maratha nobles was created to manage the affairs of the state, and an English force was stationed in Gwalior to ensure the continuance of peace.

The Directors at home did not approve of the annexation of Sindh, and Ellenborough was recalled. However, to have restored the Company's prestige in Afghanistan was an achievement with which he had every reason to be satisfied.

Lord Hardinge, 1844-1848.—However much they may have wished it, it seemed impossible for the English to abide in India at peace with their neighbours. Scarcely was one war over than they found themselves face to face with another. On arrival, Hardinge recognised that a Sikh war was not very far off.

It will be remembered that in an earlier chapter we traced the history of the Sikhs up to the time when Dhulip Singh was placed on the throne, with the Khalsa for his council and his mother as Regent. Well, the Queen-Regent and the Khalsa were soon convinced that they could not control the army, and that, if it were not engaged against a **First Sikh War, 1845-1846.** foreign foe, it would turn upon the Khalsa itself, and plunge the Punjab into civil war. The army was accordingly, without provocation, led across the Sutlej into English territory, and so began the First Sikh War. Hardinge had, however, in anticipation of the event, moved his forces unobserved towards the Sikh frontier, and was therefore ready for the Sikhs. He immediately proclaimed the Cis-Sutlej States annexed, and within six days of the Sikhs crossing the Sutlej, Sir Hugh Gough, the commander-in-chief, with Lord Hardinge as second in command, defeated them in the battle of Mudki. The English army in quick succession added the victories of Ferozeshah (1845), Aliwal, and Sobraon (1846). The loss of life at Sobraon was ghastly. The Sikhs were driven back to a bridge over the Sutlej. The bridge gave away, and thousands of them were precipitated into the river. Hundreds perished ; but not a man surrendered. The English then pushed on to Lahore, and a deputation of Sikh chiefs, headed by Gulab Singh, sued for peace. The Treaty of Lahore was then signed. By it, though Dhulip Singh was retained on the throne with his mother as Queen-Regent, the tract of country between the ~~Ris~~ ^{Ris} and the Sutlej was ceded to the English ; one-and-a-half crores of rupees were paid to them as an

indemnity for the war ; Gulab Singh was set up as independent Raja of Kashmir in return for 75 lakhs of rupees ; and the strength of the Sikh army was reduced. In addition Major Henry Lawrence was given a voice in the Sikh Durbar, and was left at Lahore in charge of political affairs. But Imamuddin, the governor of Kashmir, refused to admit Gulab Singh's title to the throne of Kashmir. Troops were sent against him, and he was obliged to yield. A Second Treaty of Lahore was then made. By it the Government of Lahore was to be carried on on behalf of the minor Maharaja, Dhulip Singh, by a council of native nobles under the direction of a British Resident, while Gulab Singh became a vassal of the British as well as Maharaja of Kashmir.

In 1819 the Nawab Wazir of Oudh had thrown over his vassalage to the Mughal Emperor, and had assumed the title of King of Oudh. But his misrule seemed to call for rebuke, and Hardinge warned him that if he did not abide by Lord Wellesley's treaty with Saadat Ali (made in 1801) and govern his kingdom properly, the English would be obliged to interfere in the interests of his subjects.

**Reforms and
Material
Progress.**

Before returning to England Hardinge attended to other matters. He continued the excavation of the Ganges Canal, and earnestly endeavoured to put down sati, infanticide, and human sacrifices among the Khonds of Orissa. While he was Governor-General the cultivation of tea was begun in Assam, the tax on salt was reduced, education in English was systematically encouraged, and Indians were more largely admitted into the public services.

Lord Dalhousie, 1848-1856.—The administration of Lord Dalhousie, one of the greatest of all the Governors-General, may be summed up in the three words—
Characteristic Features of Dalhousie's Rule.

Acquisition, Consolidation, Development. He annexed, perhaps, more territory than any of his predecessors. He knitted together the scattered British provinces by a net-work of railways and telegraph wires. He did much to increase the trade and the material prosperity of the country.

Though overthrown in the First Sikh War, the Sikhs were by no means crushed. The several divisions of the Punjab had been placed under Governors, or *Diwans*, who were responsible to the British Resident at Lahore. This officer called upon Diwan Mulraj, governor of Multan, to render an account of his administration. Mulraj preferred to resign. On this Mr. Vans Agnew and Lieutenant Anderson were sent to take over the government and fortress of Multan. But it had all been arranged beforehand, and as soon as these officers assumed control of public affairs they were murdered. News of this reached Lieutenant Herbert Edwardes at Dera-Fateh-Khan. But the rebellion of one man had now grown into a revolt of the Sikh Confederacy. The Afghans, smarting under their late humiliation, readily lent their assistance to the Sikhs. Lord Gough did not at first grasp the seriousness of the position, and he omitted to make preparations on a sufficiently large scale. However, Lieutenant Edwardes held the enemy in check till Gough's army took the field. Multan was then captured, 1848, and Mulraj gave himself up to the English. In the following year the Sikhs were defeated at Chillianwala and Gujarat. They then submitted unconditionally at Rawal Pindi, (1849), and the Afghan contingent was pursued to the Khaibar Pass. The war over, Dhulip Singh was given a liberal pension; the Punjab was annexed, and put under a Board of Control consisting of Henry Lawrence, John Lawrence, and Charles Mansel. Moreover, the Sikh army was disbanded, but its best men were formed into a military police. The Khalsa also was broken up, and its members reduced

Second Sikh
War, 1848-1849.

to the position of private persons. Ruled by the Sikhs the Punjab had groaned under the burden of forty-eight taxes ; Dalhousie reduced them to six. A careful survey was made of the province, and the land tax was fairly levied. In other directions the development of the province was assisted. The Bari Duab Canal was excavated ; the Grand Trunk Road was extended across the Punjab ; and education was attended to by the state. In 1852, the Board of Control at Lahore was dissolved, and John Lawrence was made Chief Commissioner of the Punjab. Grateful for the consideration shown them in the hour of their humiliation, the Sikhs stood by the English throughout the Mutiny of 1857.

The Raja of Sikkim, in 1849, seized some English travellers. As a punishment Sikkim was taken from him.

The King of Burma, in violation of the Treaty of Yendabu ill-treated British subjects at Rangoon, and, when called upon to redress the wrongs of English merchants, he took no notice of the demand. Friendly negotiations having had no effect, in 1852 an expedition was sent against him, and in a short time Martaban, Rangoon, Prome, and Pegu were taken from him. Dalhousie stopped the war at this stage, being of opinion that the Burmese King had been sufficiently punished. A proclamation annexing all Lower Burma was published, and the greater part of the English army was withdrawn. From this time the southern part of Burma has prospered.

According to a long established Indian practice, dating from the time of Akbar and Aurangzeb, when a Hindu prince held his principality in subordination to, or as a gift from, the paramount power, in event of failure of male heirs of his body, he was allowed to adopt a son ; but the condition of this son's succession to the principality was that the adoption should have obtained

**The Doctrine
of Lapsee.**

the consent of the paramount power. In the absence of that consent, the personal property of the deceased prince was inherited by the adopted son, but not the principality, which reverted to the paramount state. At all times the latter reserved to itself the right of withholding its consent to an adoption, and, when the consent was not given, of resuming the subordinate principality. This is known as the Doctrine of Lapse.

Lord Dalhousie came out with instructions to strictly follow the Doctrine of Lapse, and, by resuming all petty states to which there were no heirs of the body, to remove intermediate powers between

Dalhousie annexes many States.

the British Government and the people, wherever it would benefit the latter. In carrying out this principle Lord Dalhousie annexed several minor states. The Raja of Satara on his deathbed adopted a son, 1848, without the consent of the British Government. The child was given his adoptive father's personal property, but not the subordinate State of Satara, which was annexed. The matter was referred to the Court of Directors, who ruled that "the territory of Satara has lapsed, by failure of heirs, to the Power who bestowed it, and we desire that it be annexed to the British dominions." On similar grounds, Sambalpur, Jhansi, Udaipur, Tanjore, parts of Sindh, Cachar, Orissa, and Nagpur were annexed, and the pension of the Nawab of the Karnatic and of Nana Sahib, the adopted son of Baji Rao II, lapsed, while for arrears of payments due for the maintenance of British troops quartered in his territories, the Nizam of Haidarabad ceded the Assigned Districts to the Company.

The annexation of Oudh was for different reasons. The province of Oudh had been guaranteed to the Nawab Wazir, (from 1819 known as the King of Oudh) by Wellesley's treaty of 1801, only so long as he ruled Oudh well. Bentinck, Auckland and Hardinge had each in turn

Annexation of Oudh, 1856.

warned the King of Oudh, that if he did not reform his government, the Company would be obliged to interfere. Dalhousie felt that action could no longer be delayed. Things had come to such a pass that he wrote to the Court of Directors, "were it not for the constant presence of British troops at Lucknow, the people of Oudh would speedily work their own deliverance." He recommended that "while the king should be permitted to retain his royal title and rank, he should be required



to vest the whole civil and military administration of Oudh in the hands of the Company." The Court of Directors did not approve of his leniency, and ordered him, before he laid down office, to annex Oudh. It was accordingly annexed in 1856.

It was Dalhousie's great anxiety that a change of masters should not injure the subjects. He everywhere set the rents and the administration of justice on a proper footing, but he nowhere interfered with the customs, religions and habits of the people. These last continued in the full enjoyment of their rights, and in addition were freed from the oppression which they had only too often experienced from native rulers. District Officers were appointed to preside over the law courts, over the gathering-in of revenue, and over the police. Most of the newly-acquired territories were made into Non-Regulation Provinces.

Non-Regulation Provinces.

Having completed his work of acquisition, Dalhousie began to consolidate. He united the scattered parts of the British possessions by railways and by the telegraph system. He introduced cheap postage, and constructed roads, canals, court-houses, jails, and other public buildings. Education was made a department of the state, and government officers were appointed to look after the primary and secondary schools that sprang up everywhere. Lord Halifax, in 1854, drew up a scheme of education based upon the modern vernacular languages of India, and its adoption eventually led to the founding of Universities at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. Trade and industries were encouraged in every possible way. Slavery was abolished, and agriculture was promoted. Appointments in the Civil Service were thrown open to the natives of India, and Indian members were admitted to the Legislative Council. Dalhousie tried to reorganise the native army, and to increase the number of English regiments in the

Consolidation and Material Progress.

country; but the Directors did not consent to his proposals.

In 1856, Dalhousie retired from his arduous duties. He had greatly increased the British possessions in India. Where there had been misrule and tyranny he substituted good government and equal laws. By the iron bands of railway lines and telegraph wires he linked province to province. By a system of cheap postage he facilitated the interchange of thought. By providing roads and canals he assisted trade. By introducing a common system of state education he created a oneness between divergent creeds and races. By allowing Indians into every department and grade of the Civil Service he satisfied the ambitions of all classes of people. These statesmanlike measures rank him with Hastings, Clive, Wellesley, and Bentinck, and entitle him to a foremost place among the Governors-General of India.

Lord Canning. 1856-1858.—Owing to Dalhousie's measures, when Canning arrived there was in the minds of Hindus and Muhammadans, a suspicion that the British Government was determined by indirect means to subvert the religions of the country, and that national customs were in danger of being undermined. In addition to this, the application of the Doctrine of Lapse had greatly alarmed the chiefs and princes, many of whom believed themselves to have been unjustly deprived of their lawful inheritance. There was also a vague expectation in the air because of the prophecy that the hundredth year after the battle of Plassey would see the end of British rule in India. The sepoys knew that they outnumbered the European soldiers in the ratio of five to one, and that miles of country intervened between one English garrison and another. The army, too, had been denuded of its British officers, many of whom had been given civil and political

Estimate of Dalhousie's Work.

Causes of the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857.

appointments. More than this ; the recent Burmese War had greatly irritated the sepoys, for they held that they had enlisted exclusively for internal warfare, and not for service beyond the seas—crossing the seas being believed to be forbidden by the Hindu religion. Again, many regiments were composed of men who came from the same locality, who were related to one another, who were of the same caste, and who could therefore easily combine for any purpose. The annexation of Oudh had sent adrift 50,000 Indian soldiers who had committed no fault. All this combined to fill the sepoys with discontent. They were thus ripening for mischief when the rumour was spread that the British Government was conspiring to rob them of their caste by greasing the cartridges of the guns with fats that offended Muhammadans and Hindus alike, and that the flour supplied to the Hindu sepoys at Cawnpur was mixed with bone dust of the sacred cow.

While these grievances were rankling in the minds of the sepoys, their officers and the civil authorities suspected nothing. Before **The Sepoy Mu-** leaving the country, Lord Dalhousie **tiny begins.** had advised the Home Government to increase the number of British soldiers in the Indian army, so that they might in an emergency hold the sepoys in check. But his advice had not been heeded. It is true that at more than one place the sepoys had been somewhat insubordinate ; but no serious view had been taken of their conduct, and they had been leniently treated. And yet there were events transpiring which should have put the English on their guard. At Meerut a religious mendicant publicly preached rebellion, and Dandu Pant, the adopted son of the ex-Peshwa, and better known in history as Nana Sahib, made a tour of Delhi, Lucknow and Kalpi, sowing the seeds of insurrection as he went. And so it was that the British dreams of security were rudely brought to an end one Sunday evening by the sepoys of Meerut shooting down their officers ;

killing every European man, woman, and child they met ; breaking into the jail and releasing the prisoners ; and spending the night in plundering the city. Before the news of the rising could be sent anywhere, the insurgents hurried on to Delhi, and being there joined by the sepoys of that city, they murdered the Europeans of the place. It was very evident that their next move would be to take possession of the arms and ammunition stored there by the English. But Lieutenant Willoughby was determined that the powder and shot should not fall into their hands. To defend the arsenal against them was out of the question, so he set fire to the powder, and was blown up together with 2000 of the rebels. Delhi, however, was in their possession, and the mutiny rapidly spread from province to province, and from city to city. Rohilkhand was ablaze, Jalandhar, Bandelkhand, and Jabalpur were in rebellion. The Rani of Jhansi behaved with savage ferocity. In what is now the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh the people themselves joined the sepoys. Lucknow was besieged, and Cawnpur was at the mercy of Nana Sahib and his general, Tantia Topi. Though the South Maratha Country sympathised with the sepoys, its soldiery remained inactive. Through the influence of Sir Salar Jang, Haidarabad remained peaceful. At Peshawar, Barrackpore, and some other places the sepoys were disarmed before they could rebel. The Sikhs, who might have been expected to join the insurgents, held aloof, and the Punjab remained loyal.

Delhi, Lucknow, and Cawnpur were the main centres of the Mutiny. At the last-mentioned city some 400 English soldiers entrenched themselves with their wives and children, and for a time bravely withstood the fierce assaults of Nana Sahib and Tantia Topi. When they felt they could no longer hold out, in despair they accepted the offer which Nana Sahib made them of safe conduct to Allahabad. They were

**The Mutiny at
Cawnpur, Delhi,
and Lucknow.**

led to the *ghat* where boats were in readiness for them. But as they pushed into midstream the treacherous enemy from the banks of the river opened fire on the defenceless boats. About 206 men, women, and children were made prisoners, and killed with every conceivable form of cruelty. Their corpses were thrown promiscuously into a well. Two days after this tragic occurrence, Havelock arrived with a relieving army, and Nana Sahib fled. What became of him is not exactly known, but it was at the time believed that in the forests of Nepal he was devoured by a tiger. At any rate he was never heard of again.

Meanwhile at Delhi, the 30,000 rebel sepoys in possession of the city were being besieged by only 7000 British troops under General Nicholson. At length Delhi fell, but not till Nicholson had been killed. The Emperor, Bahadur Shah, and his two sons were made prisoners. He was transported to Burma, and the ring-leaders of the mutinous sepoys at Delhi were shot. The fall of Delhi was a turning point in the history of the Mutiny.

As has already been observed, in Oudh the mutineers were joined by the people. They were misled into rebellion by the Talukdars, who had become disaffected owing to the annexation of the province. At Lucknow, Sir Henry Lawrence had fortified the Residency, and in it about 1700 Europeans were besieged by the rebels who were being daily reinforced. Early in the siege Lawrence was killed; but the beleaguered British bravely held out. After three months a relieving force under Havelock, Neill, and Outram arrived. But the investment of the Residency continued. Neill fell. In an underground chamber the ladies and children dwelt for the six dreary and anxious months that the siege continued. The Residency yet stands, and its grey walls riddled by bullet and cannon ball, bear silent but impressive witness to the fury of the mutineers. At last, in November, 1857, Sir Colin Campbell cut his way

through the enemy, and relieved the all but exhausted garrison. The sepoy fell back on Bareilly, but were expelled from there, and were pursued from place to place till they escaped to Nepal.

Sir Hugh Rose was meanwhile dealing with the Mutiny in Central India. He took Kalpi, and laid siege to Jhansi, whose cruel Rani had eagerly combined with Tantia Topi. The Maharaja of Gwalior, who had thrown in his lot with the English, was defeated by this Maratha general, who forthwith assumed the government of the place. Sir Hugh Rose, however, defeated him at Morar, and retook Gwalior. Sir Robert (afterwards Lord) Napier came upon the rebel army under Tantia Topi between Gwalior and Agra, and all but annihilated his forces. Tantia Topi escaped from the battlefield, but he was later on betrayed, and hanged for his share in the massacre at Cawnpore. It was now April of 1859, and the Mutiny was practically stamped out.



THE RESIDENCY, LUCKNOW.

Lord Canning dealt leniently with the mutineers, most of whom he believed had been misguided into rebellion. A general pardon was proclaimed to all who threw themselves on the mercy of the English. The lands of the disloyal Talukdars were confiscated, and the ringleaders were put to death. These mild measures displeased many, and earned for the Governor-General the nick-name of "Clemency Canning"; but in truth the epithet is a tribute to his wisdom and humanity. His mercy did more than anything else to pacify the country, and to make it the loyal India of to-day. In 1858, an Act was passed by Parliament abolishing the East India Company and the Board of Control and transferring the government of India to the British Crown in the person of Queen Victoria. The Governor-General was created Viceroy, and was made responsible to the Secretary of State for India, who was put at the head of a Council appointed to manage Indian affairs. On the 1st November, 1858, Queen Victoria's Proclamation was read with due ceremonial splendour at every civil and military station. It guaranteed to the people fair and equitable treatment; it assured the nobility that all treaties and engagements made with them in the past would be respected; the Doctrine of Lapse was declared to be abandoned, and adoption in the event of failure of natural heirs was admitted to confer on the adopted the right of succession to the *guddee*. The Public Services were without reserve thrown open to any natives of India who, by their education, ability and integrity, might be capable of performing duties that had hitherto largely been discharged by Europeans.

India taken
over by the
British Crown.

CHAPTER XIII.

India under the Crown:

The Fifth, or British, Empire of India.

The Viceroys of India.

1858—1903 A.D.

LORD Canning, 1858-1862.—The Queen's Proclamation made India a dependency of England, and Canning was created Viceroy. As soon as peace was restored, he travelled over Northern India, and reassured the princes and people whose cities he visited. At Agra he held an assembly, or *darbar*, of Indian chiefs who had been loyal during the Mutiny, and rewarded them with titles and decorations. His next anxiety was to recoup the vast sums which the rebellion had cost. An income tax was imposed, customs duties were revised, and professions were required to pay a license. Then, in 1859, a Rent Act was passed in the interests of ryots, and in the following year the Indian Penal Code, which Lord Macaulay had drawn up, was used in all Criminal Courts. The Sadar Courts were abolished, and the High Court of Calcutta was established.

Lord Elgin, I. 1862-1863.—Lord Elgin, who had been Governor of Canada, in America, was appointed to succeed Canning. During his short rule of eighteen months he had to put down a rising of the Wahabis, a fanatical sect of Muhammadans. While touring in North-West of India, he became seriously ill, and died at Dharamsala. There he was buried. Until the next Viceroy could come out, Sir William Denison, the

Governor of Madras, acted at the head of the Indian Government. It looked as though fresh trouble was at hand, for the Raja of Bhutan raided the Duars, and treated with scorn the ambassador who was sent to remonstrate with him.

Lord Lawrence, 1864-1869.—Sir John Lawrence, who had so ably ruled in the Punjab during the Mutiny, was selected to be the next Viceroy, and was created Lord Lawrence. He was very averse to wars, and though he might have found reason for entering upon hostilities with Afghanistan, he desisted. It was, however, otherwise in the case of Bhutan. The conduct of the Raja of that land could not be tolerated, and an expedition was sent against him. After a brief but brave resistance he was overthrown, and the Bhutan Duars were annexed, 1864. Two years later a terrible famine occurred in Orissa, and in spite of all that was done to supply its people with grain, thousands died of starvation.

Lord Mayo. "The Conciliator of Princes," 1869-1872.—As already hinted, Sher Ali the new Amir of Afghanistan, had had a misunderstanding with Lord Lawrence, and Mayo thought of restoring friendly feelings by inviting him to a meeting at Ambala. Sher Ali came, and was treated with special honour; but he went back dissatisfied. The Viceroy then turned his attention to internal reforms and improvements. For some years past the income of the Government had fallen short, chiefly because the Local Governments made no attempts to save expenditure that could well be avoided. The reason of their extravagance was that any savings they might effect lapsed to the Government of India. To remedy this Mayo devised **The Provincial Contract System.** what is known as the Provincial Contract System, according to which a certain portion of the revenues and of other incomes is allotted to the

Provincial Governments for five years at a time. From this allotment they have to meet their expenses, and if there be any balance left, they may use it for the benefit of the province concerned. This system with unimportant modifications continues to this day, and by it the money affairs of the Government have caused little, if any, anxiety.

Mayo remodels the Supreme Council. Mayo next remodelled the Supreme Council. He divided the affairs of the Government into seven Departments—Foreign ; Public Works ; Home ; Revenue ; Agriculture, Commerce ; Financial ; Military ; and Legislative. The Head of each Department was given a seat on the Supreme Council of which the Viceroy himself was President. Every member was responsible for his own Department, but he had the benefit of the advice of the other members assembled in Council. By this means the various parts of the machinery of the Government were made interdependent, and assisted to work together in harmony.

Dealings with the Feudatory States. In the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 it was declared that the government of the several princes and chiefs who then governed their own territories should be perpetuated, and that the dignity of their houses should be maintained. Lord Mayo recognised that this meant that an area of about 600,000 square miles, with a population of nearly 50 millions, governed by Feudatory Chiefs was part and parcel of the British Indian Empire, and that the Queen had made herself responsible for its welfare. He therefore laid down the following maxims for future dealings with Feudatory Chiefs :—(1) The misrule of an Indian Chief was never to be made the excuse for annexation. (2) Where there was bad government the Chief might be replaced by his heir, whose government—if he were a minor—should be placed under a Native or an European Regent. (3) The younger Native Chiefs should be educated under

the direction of British officers, and be taught their responsibilities to their subjects and to the British Government. In working out this policy Mayo took in hand the 187 Chiefs of Kathiawar, established a college for them, and gradually introduced among them a better system of Government. So also the state of Aliwar was placed under a Native Council of Management. It did not take long for the Feudatory Princes to appreciate the work that Lord Mayo was doing for them, and the genuine grief that filled them when they heard of his assassination by a felon on the Andaman Islands, was only one proof out of many that in his death they felt they had lost a true friend.

To avoid friction between England and Russia on account of Afghanistan, Lord Mayo by skilfully conducted negotiations had the Amir's boundaries fixed.

**Boundaries of
Afghanistan
defined.**

The Viceroy now devoted himself to the extension of railways, and to the improvement of the means whereby, in times of deficient rainfall, water might be supplied to the districts where there was drought. To afford education to the masses was his wish, and he so improved the Department of Public Instruction that he studded Bengal with primary schools in which all classes of society were taught Reading, Writing and Arithmetic. Knowing how the people of this country yield an affectionate loyalty to the person of their ruler, he arranged for a visit to India by his Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh, the second son of Queen Victoria. The tour of the Duke touched the hearts of the Queen's Indian subjects, and put a seal to the peace that prevailed in our land.

**Railways, Canals,
and Education.**

**Visit of the
Duke of
Edinburgh.**

Lord Mayo was a man who wanted to see things for himself. Early in 1872 he started on a tour to Burma, the Andaman Islands, and Orissa. But he did not get further

**Lord Mayo
Assassinated.**

than the Andamans; for as he was leaving the shores of Viper and Ross Islands, one of the convicts—whose condition in exile he had gone to ameliorate—stabbed him; and all India went into mourning for one of her most sympathetic and noble-hearted Viceroys.

Lord Northbrook, 1872-1876.—The year after Northbrook's arrival he was called upon to combat a severe famine that prevailed in Northern Bengal and Bihar. Relief works were opened, grain was imported from Burma, and every effort was made to save life. In 1875 our Emperor, Edward VII., then Prince of Wales, paid India a visit. People of all classes combined to give him a royal welcome. Before retiring in the following year Lord Northbrook set Indian finances on a firm basis.

Lord Lytton. 1876-1880.—In 1877 Queen Victoria assumed the title of Empress of India, and at a great *darbar* held at Delhi, Lord Lytton published to all Indians that they were ruled over by their own sovereign. At the same time the Proclamation of 1858 was confirmed, and the bond between England and India was thereby more closely drawn.

Southern and Northern India, excepting Bengal and Assam, was at this time visited by a
Famine of 1877. famine, and though Government spent a crore and ten lakhs of rupees in affording relief, hunger and disease claimed a large number of victims.

Ever since the time of Lord Lawrence the relations between Sher Ali, Amir of Afghanistan, and the English had been strained. For
The Second Afghan War. military purposes Quetta had lately been occupied as an outpost. To this the Amir objected, and regarded it as a menace to his kingdom. He accordingly entered into negotiations with Russia, and received the Czar's ambassador with marked honour at Kabul. As a matter of political necessity Lord Lytton sent an

English envoy to Sher Ali, but the Amir refused to receive the British ambassador. This could not be tolerated, and war was declared. An English army marched into Afghanistan, and before the close of 1878 Jallalabad and Kandahar were in the possession of the English, and Sher Ali fled to Balk. Here he died; and in the following year his son, Yakub Khan, sued for peace, and the Treaty of Gandamak was signed. He agreed to receive a British Resident at Kabul, and was in turn acknowledged as Amir.

But the presence of a British Resident at the capital of their country was distasteful to the Afghans, and suddenly the soldiers of the Amir attacked Sir Louis Cavagnari, who was Resident, and his attendants, and killed him and them.

**The Third
Afghan War,
1879-1881.**

This act of treachery necessitated a renewal of war, and Sir Frederick (now Lord) Roberts marched on Kabul, and took it. At the same time Sir Donald Stewart won a decisive battle at Ahmad Khel, and Yakub Khan was brought down to Calcutta as a prisoner. This incensed the Afghans, and the whole country rose up in arms. At this time a change occurred in the Ministry in England, and Lord Lytton resigned the Viceroyalty. Lord Ripon took up the office thus vacated, and continued the war which he had inherited from his predecessor in office.

Lord Ripon, "The Conciliator of the People," **1880-1884**—Shortly after Lord Ripon's arrival he received the unwelcome news that the English army had been defeated at Maiwand by Ayub Khan, a brother of the captive Amir. General Roberts, however, saved the position by marching from Kabul to Kandahar, and by completely routing Ayub's army. Abdur Rahman, a nephew of Sher Ali, was then placed on the Afghan throne, and the war having ended, the English troops were withdrawn.

**Third Afghan
War continued.**

Lord Ripon felt that the time had come when

The Local Self-Government Act of 1882.

Indian municipalities might be given a larger share in the guidance of local affairs. In 1882 he, therefore, passed the Local Self-Government Act. By this means he developed the municipal constitution which had gradually been growing up since India passed to the Crown. He conferred larger powers of local administration to rural and urban Boards, and the elective principle received a wider application. Since then public opinion has gained more and more weight, and the extended liberty which was at this time given to the Indian press has allowed of the free discussion of matters connected with the public welfare. As Representative Government and Education go hand in hand, Lord Ripon improved the quality of the education imparted in Indian schools. In all matters he showed himself to be in deep sympathy with the ambitions and aspirations of the Queen's Indian subjects, and when he retired in 1884 his departure was much regretted.

Lord Dufferin, 1884-1888.—Of late years Russia had been so extending her territory that she had now come to the confines of Afghanistan. Indeed there was a likelihood of her taking Herat itself. Such a measure would of necessity produce complications which had better be avoided. Lord Dufferin with masterly diplomacy secured the appointment of a Commission of English and Russian officers who defined the boundaries of Afghanistan. At the same time several border tribes came under the friendly control of the British. The hands of the Indian Government were at this time strengthened by the offer of troops by the Feudatory and other chiefs in event of a war with Russia. To mark its appreciation of the loyalty of the native states, the Government sanctioned the maintenance of an Imperial Service Contingent in the more important Feudatory States.

For some years past affairs in Upper Burma had been going from bad to worse. King Thebaw recked little of treaties and less of good government. He permitted British traders to be molested, and bands of robbers to infest the land. Not content with what they could plunder in Burma itself, these made incursions even into British territory. The Viceroy appealed to Thebaw to set matters right, but he insolently threatened to invade British India himself. General Prendergast was sent with an army against him. Mandalay, the capital of Upper Burma, was taken without a blow : Thebaw was deposed ; his kingdom annexed, 1886 ; and the entire country of Burma was constituted a Chief Commissionership. Since 1897 it has been ruled by a Lieutenant-Governor, and is now in a prosperous condition.

Lord Lansdowne, 1888-1894.—The new Viceroy completed the defence of the Afghan frontier, and assisted the Feudatory Chiefs in organising the Imperial Service Corps to defend that frontier. In Manipur there was an unimportant rebellion which was easily suppressed. The Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils were enlarged, and the elective system for the return of certain members to those councils was introduced.

Lord Elgin II., 1894-1899.—A disturbance in Chitral, on the Afghan side of the north-west frontier, led to an expedition, which resulted in the English occupying that distant outpost. The bubonic plague now broke out in India, and in spite of all that science and sanitation can do to check its spread from cities to rural tracts, it still prevails. In 1897 a severe famine occurred in the Central Provinces, Bihar, and the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. Public generosity and relief works saved many lives that must otherwise

have been lost. But the misfortunes of Lord Elgin's incumbency were not yet ended. An earthquake of considerable violence visited North-Eastern India and caused great loss of property, and damaged many public works and railways. In the same year the fierce tribesmen of Tirah, towards Afghanistan, raided British territory, and the Tirah campaign was undertaken to restore order. In this it succeeded.

Lord Curzon, 1899-1905.—The first public duty that Lord Curzon was called upon to perform was to organise relief for one of the severest famines that have ever visited India. The unity of the British Empire all the world over was illustrated in a remarkable manner, by the large sums of money that were sent from every part of that empire for the supply of food to the millions who were starving in an area of 400,000 square miles. The famine was severest in the Central Provinces, the Berars, Northern Deccan, Gujarat, Rajputana and Mysore. At one time $3\frac{1}{2}$ million people were on relief, and six million pounds was expended in the charitable work of feeding the hungry. In 1901, Queen Victoria died, and in January, 1903, Edward VII was formally proclaimed Emperor of India at a splendid durbar at Delhi.

With the exception of the expedition to Tibet, the whole of Lord Curzon's administration was taken up with internal measures. He re-adjusted the distribution of British India, by creating the North-West Frontier Province, and by adding parts of the Bengal Presidency to Assam to form the new Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam. Educational affairs occupied much of his attention. He remodelled the lines upon which primary and secondary schools had been conducted, revived instruction in the vernaculars, and revised the constitution and methods of the Indian Universities. He improved the prospects of the Police Service, and minimised the danger of corruption among its servants and the oppression by them of the public. He established a Depart-

ment of Commercial Intelligence. He extended railways, and in every direction gave an impetus to the fuller development of the natural resources of the country. He visited Persia, and made a new treaty with the Amir of Afghanistan. To counteract the influence which Russia had begun secretly to exert in Tibet, a Commercial Expedition was made into that land. By these dealings with our neighbours on the frontier he secured the protection of India against foreign designs. As a result of continued financial prosperity he reduced the Salt and Income Taxes. Important changes were made in army affairs, and these led to his resignation, in 1905. He was succeeded by Lord Minto II., who is now the head of the Indian Government.

CHAPTER XIV.

India, Past and Present.

Material, Intellectual and Moral Progress.

IN addressing the vast concourse of Indian nobles and potentates assembled at the Dehli Durbar, speaking of the people of India, Lord Curzon said:—"To the majority of these millions the King's Government has given freedom from invasion and anarchy; to others it has guaranteed their rights and privileges; to others it opens ever-widening avenues of honourable employment; to the masses it dispenses mercy in the hour of suffering; and to all it endeavours to give equal justice, immunity from oppression, and the blessings of enlightenment and peace. To have won such a dominion is a great achievement; to hold it by fair and righteous dealings is greater; to weld it by wise statesmanship into a single and compact whole will be, and is, the greatest."

It is difficult for us in these days of security to realise what an invasion from Persia, Afghanistan, or Central Asia meant. It signified **Freedom from Invasion.** not merely a host of 20,000 to 100,000 foreign soldiers "on the march, paying for nothing, and eating every town, and cottage, and farmyard, burning and slaughtering on the smallest provocation and often in mere sport. It usually also meant a grand final sack and massacre at the capital of the invaded country." For instance, when Nadir Shah invested Delhi, in a single forenoon 8000 men, women, and children were sabred, and the city was pillaged, and set on fire in several places. Within a few years of the departure of Nadir Shah, Ahmad Shah made no less than five inroads into India, and his troops for a series of weeks

made Delhi the scene of every atrocity. His Afghan cavalry meanwhile scoured the country, slaying, burning and mutilating, in the smallest village as in the largest town. His horsemen suddenly swooped down upon the sacred city of Muttra while it was thronged with thousands of peaceful pilgrims who had swarmed to it for a holy festival. Before the devotees could escape, they were burnt within their houses, or massacred in the streets, or carried away into captivity. Such was the condition of Upper India not 150 years ago. Nor did other parts of the country fare any better. Fierce aboriginal tribes, like the Koch and Ahoms, from time to time devastated Assam. Warlike neighbours like the Burmese overran Eastern Bengal and laid it waste. Southern Bengal, as also the Coromandal and Malabar Coasts, fell an easy prey to pirates, who sailed up the large rivers, burned peaceful villages, and put to the sword inoffensive peasants. All this is now changed. The mountain passes of the Himalayas are no longer an open door to enemies in the north ; the eastern tribes, as well as the Burmese, are subject to British rule ; and piracy is a thing of the past.

Great as was the suffering caused by the unprovoked incursions of foreigners, greater was the misery produced by internal wars. It is said that Muhammad Shah, Sultan of Gulburga once had a quarrel with the Raja of Vijayanagar, and that he did not sheath his sword till 50,000 of his enemy's subjects had been killed. The Marathas gave the country no rest. "Every region which was not subject to their rule was wasted by their incursions. Wherever their kettledrums were heard, the peasant threw his bag of rice on his shoulder, hid his small savings in his girdle, and fled with his wife and children to the mountains or the jungles, to the milder neighbourhood of the hyena and the tiger." Nor were the Pindaris less of a scourge to the land. Chitu led an undisciplined army of 25,000 ruffians into the Nizam's

**Freedom from
Anarchy.**

territories, and there they burned, destroyed and slaughtered as far south as the Krishna. They then entered the Northern Circars, and not a town or village escaped the horrors of their cruel greed. Then, too, the death of a Mughal Emperor was the signal for a civil war in which neither side showed any mercy. Of the twenty princes who succeeded Aurangzeb, fourteen met violent deaths; four were blinded, and two died in prison. The tale of misery was completed by the depredations of the Pathans, the *thags* and the *dacoits*. How many deaths, and how much misery they were responsible for will never be known. Very different is it now. The Marathas, Pindaris, Pathans, and other avowed enemies of peace no longer fill the land with bloodshed. War between two Indian princes can no longer be resorted to, and struggles for vacant thrones do not occur. The domination of the English has brought to an end civil discord and anarchy.

It is the natural right and privilege of every man to call his life and property his own. But this was precisely what no one could do a little over a century ago. In those days one's life might be taken at any moment, and of all investments landed property was the least secure. The usual price of a field was the crop standing on it. And even at that price it was often dear, for before it could be reaped, down would come a swarm of Marathas or Pindaris, slay the owner, and carry off his ripened corn. People were glad to escape with their lives, and leave their homes and belongings to the enemy. Owing to the frequency of invasions, the borderland between Afghanistan and India was a silent waste. Along the foot of the Himalayas a belt of land, measuring 30,000 square miles was delivered over to wild beasts. Vast tracts of country in Assam and Bengal had no inhabitants. By the sea coast and in the deltas of the larger rivers many thousand square miles were depopulated by the ravages of pirates.

Their Rights and Privileges guaranteed to all.

Owing to the general insecurity no one had the heart to grow more than what would suffice for actual needs. No industries flourished, and trade there was none. People feared to come together and form towns or large villages. They preferred to live in small and scattered groups so that they might not attract the attention of a greedy foe. It is very different now. The once barren wildernesses of the Himalayan borderland smile with fields of grain, and tea-plantations dot the slopes of the mountains themselves. Waste lands and swamps are being everywhere reclaimed, and land is now the safest of all investments. It is difficult to buy a field for even twenty crops. Though parts of the country are overcrowded, people do not at all seem willing to try their fortunes in uncultivated tracts. They prefer to live in their native towns or villages, being as averse to leaving their homesteads as they were formerly afraid to inhabit them. Hence populous towns and villages have sprung up in abundance, and the great problem of the day is to raise from the fields enough for the wants of so many millions.

Their rights and privileges have been guaranteed not to the masses only, but also to the princes and native rulers in the land. The unsettled condition of the country in former days involved the smaller princes and rulers in ruin, for their wealth, supposed or real, made them the prey successively of Mughal, Maratha and Pindari. Repeatedly it was their fate to ransom their lives by paying all that they possessed. Their estates were often confiscated for no just reason, or they were thrown into prison and their lands given to another. But since Queen Victoria, in 1858, abandoned the Doctrine of Lapse, and Lord Mayo made it law that on no account was an Indian chief to have his territories annexed, the native rulers of the country have enjoyed security to a degree formerly unknown by them. They show their gratitude by their loyalty and devotion to the Crown. Some of them maintain Imperial Service

Troops with which to help the British Government in time of necessity, and Lord Curzon created a career for princes by establishing a Cadet Corps for the sons of Indian chieftains.

(a) **Agriculture, Trades and Industries.**—Security of life and property is the foundation upon which the British have built their Government of India. The remarkable development of agriculture during the last hundred years is only a result of continued peace and security. Rulers and people alike have a permanent interest in their possessions; population has increased; and commerce and trade have become possible. Waste lands have been brought under the plough, and the poorest man endeavours to obtain the best return from his fields, for he knows that what he does not require for his own use he can readily sell in the market. In large towns and populous cities mills and factories give the labouring classes an industrial career. British capital has opened out tea and coffee plantations, paper, cotton and jute mills, oil and coal mines, indigo and opium factories, not to mention potteries, rope works, quarries and other lines of business which provide work for millions. In 1907, sugar was raised on 2,348,800 acres of land, and the yield amounted to 2,223,400 tons. In the same year there were 533,300 acres under tea, which produced 240,849,900 lbs of tea, and gave employment to over 500,000 coolies. Cotton plantations in the same year covered 22,344,000 acres, and produced 4,908,000 bales, of 5 maunds each, of which Rs. 21,966,000 worth was exported during the year, the balance being manufactured into cloth in 217 local cotton mills, where 211,100 persons found daily employment. Jute was in the same year grown on 3,883,200 acres, and yielded 9,600,000 bales, and provided 167,000 persons with work. In 1907, there were 307 coal mines in which on the average 128,666 labourers were daily employed, and which yielded 9,783,200 tons of coal.

It is not necessary to give details of every trade and industry, but some idea may be formed of the enormous proportions to which commerce has grown when in 1907 Calcutta alone had a trade valued at $120\frac{1}{2}$ crores. In 1906-1907, the imports of all India were valued at Rs. 1,717,359,670, and its exports at Rs. 3,519,824,950. Thus in that year the commerce of India with other lands yielded her a profit of Rs. 1,802,465,280.

(b) **The Post and Telegraph Departments.**—The expansion of trade and commerce has necessitated rapid means of communication, and cheap modes of carrying goods. In 1837, the Postal Department was established. Before that date there was no general system of postal service in India. Government had its own arrangements for the conveyance of state letters and parcels, and private persons were, as a matter of favour, allowed to use the Government Service. In the absence of railways and steamers, letters were carried by country-boats, *dak-garies*, horses, camels, and runners. There were no postage stamps, and the charge from Calcutta to Bombay was one rupee per tola. Now a letter can be sent to England for one anna, and a post card to Bombay costs only one pice. The total length of mail lines is now about 153,600 miles, and more than 78,000,000 letters, newspapers, and parcels are carried by the post in a year. The operations of the Post Office include the making or the realising of payments; the banking of savings; the distribution of quinine; and the insurance of letters and parcels. Fifty years ago there was some uncertainty as to whether, at the end of several weeks, a letter would reach its destination; now we post our letters confident that in a day or two they will be correctly delivered. In the year 1907, the sum of Rs. 147,500,000 was held in favour of depositors in the Post Office Savings Bank.

Intimately associated with the Postal Service is the Telegraph Department. We owe its introduction to

Dr. O'Shaughnessy, a Professor of the Medical College in Calcutta. He first experimented in telegraphy at the Botanical Gardens on the opposite side of the Hugli, and in 1851 he worked an experimental line of 82 miles with such success that Lord Dalhousie connected Calcutta, Agra, Bombay, Peshawar and Madras with telegraph wires. In 1855, private messages began to be received for transmission. Now some 67,000 miles of telegraph wires intersect the land, and a message can be flashed from Cape Comorin to Peshawar in a few minutes for a fee of six annas only. In 1907, over 14 million messages travelled by wire. The benefits of the telegraph system are inestimable, and the service it rendered during the Mutiny of 1857 has established its political importance.

(c) **The Expansion of Commerce.**—The Postal Department could not do its work without railways, nor could commerce be carried on in its present proportions without trains. In former times the journey from Calcutta to Bhagalpur occupied two months by boat ; now the distance is covered in less than fifteen hours by train. Travelling has become not only rapid but easy. The wayfarer of a hundred years ago had to risk encounters with wild beasts and bands of desperate robbers. The difficulties of the way were increased by bad roads, or famine-stricken districts, or swollen rivers. Railways have altered these conditions, and have made journeying safe and cheap. Merchandise of all kinds is now carried great distances at very moderate rates. The first railway, 20 miles in length, was opened in 1853 between Bombay and Thana. The next year the East Indian Railway conveyed passengers from Howrah to Pandua, a distance of 38 miles. In 1856 the Madras Railway ran to Arcot, 65 miles. At present India is covered with a network of railways measuring 30,000 miles, and in 1907 no less than 300 million passengers travelled in trains, and 69 million tons of goods were carried. Over three million people are employed in

working railways, and so, many thousands, who might otherwise be in want, are enabled to provide themselves with food.

(*d*) **Inland Roads and Canals.** — Railways have opened up the country to trade. In former times the cost of carrying grain, etc., to markets was so great, that traffic in local produce was impossible. Now all that a trader has to do is to buy his grain in the villages and convey it to the nearest railway station. This has encouraged husbandmen to grow in their fields more than they require, so that they may sell the surplus, and with the money thus obtained procure for themselves some of the necessaries and comforts of life. Railways have, therefore, called into existence innumerable roads and their feeders. Before the British Government was established, there was not a single good road in the country. But from the time that Bentinck began the Grand Trunk Road from Calcutta to Delhi, Local Governments, District Boards and Municipalities have been so busy in making roads that it is comparatively easy to carry the produce of distant fields to the railway. Where roads do not exist, canals supply a water-way upon which boats and steamers carry country produce to trading centres.

(*e*) **Emigration.** — Mention has already been made of the great increase there is in population, and it has been observed that one of the most difficult problems of the day is to feed the millions of India. It is calculated that there is an increase of 20,000,000 souls in every ten years. The growing population may be provided for by waste lands and swamps being converted into fields; by agricultural methods being improved so that the same area of fields may produce grain more abundantly; and by the excess of population emigrating to less thickly inhabited parts of the country. The reclamation of land proceeds slowly. The people are too

conservative to improve their modes of cultivation; and emigration affords only a partial solution of the difficulty. Some progress, however, has been made in all these directions. The waste lands along the base of the Himalayas have been reclaimed for the plough: but still 107,525,236 acres in British India await cultivation. In all schools the elements of agricultural knowledge are being taught, particularly in rural tracts, and it is hoped that more information on the subject may lead to improved husbandry. Emigration proceeds upon a small scale to Assam, and to such places as Mauritius, Demerara, and Trinidad. In 1900, there were 69,841 emigrants to Assam, and about 100,000 emigrants to the colonies, and elsewhere. But most emigrants return to their native homes after a term of years, and emigration therefore does not in any great degree afford relief to congested areas.

(f) **Education.**—Peace is conducive to the spread of learning. Under no Indian dynasty was the education of subjects regarded as a duty of the state. Whatever learning there was, it was confined to the Brahmins, who cultivated Sanskrit, and to the Mullahs, who made a study of Arabic. Education for the masses never existed. In 1781, Warren Hastings established the Calcutta Madrasah, and in 1813, when the charter of the East India Company was renewed, a clause was inserted requiring not less than a lakh of rupees to be spent every year in the diffusion of knowledge. When Bentinck ruled, education in English was for the first time generally imparted, and in 1857 the Universities of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay were founded. In later years universities have been added at Allahabad and Lahore. Lord Mayo and Lord Ripon extended education to the masses, and in 1902, we had in British India 3,184,000 pupils in 92,000 primary schools; 259,412 pupils in 5,032 secondary schools; and 17,148 students (including 177 girls) in 180 colleges. The expense to Government for

education amounted, in 1902, to about 110 lakhs of rupees, which amount was required to supplement the fees of pupils and the subscriptions of persons interested in the spread of education. The Universities are meanwhile preparing men for a share in the service of Government and for practising the learned professions.

(g) **Religious Toleration**—Every one is entitled to his own religious views and convictions. In former days this was not admitted by the rulers of the land, and there existed odious taxes such as the *jiziya* and taxes on pilgrims. Hindu persecuted Muhammadan, and Muhammadan persecuted Hindu. But now the British Government allows every man to follow his own religion without let or hindrance. Missionaries preach Christianity, just as Muhammadans, or Buddhists, or Brahmos endeavour to spread their respective faiths. In the eyes of British law all religions are equal, and no man's religion or caste is considered a disqualification for service under Government.

(h) **Police**.—The Police is maintained for the preservation of peace and for the suppression of crime. The policemen of the Mughal Empire were an undisciplined, half-starved soldiery, who lived upon what they could extort from the people. Now the policeman receives a monthly salary, and is kept under strict discipline. His duties are to check and trace crime, to aid the meting out of justice, and to report breaches of law. For protection against robbery and murder each person pays the Government a monthly Police Tax of less than 1 pice. We now have court houses, and jails, and *thanas*. In the time of the Mughals "the prisons themselves were ruinous hovels, whose inmates had to be kept in stocks and fetters, or were held down under flat bamboos, not on account of their crimes, but because, from the insecurity of the jails, the jailer had no other means of preventing their escape." Compare with this the treat-

ment of prisoners in our modern jails. Theft and crimes against the person have sensibly diminished, and although the Police is capable of improvement, through its organization there is now less crime in India than in many other lands.

(i) The Dispensing of Justice with an even hand.—

The Mughals had no system for their law courts. Judges were not salaried, nor were they watched and corrected by superior courts. They were often merely sellers of decisions, and earned their living by accepting payment alike from plaintiff and defendant. They were guided by no impartial codes of criminal or civil laws, nor was any adequate opportunity of defence given to the accused. We now have our lower and our higher courts, so that an appeal from a subordinate magistrate lies to his superior. The law makes no distinction between rich and poor. There is the same law for all. The powers of magistrates are restricted according to their rank, and every one charged with crime is allowed to defend himself by employing advocates learned in the law. Judges and magistrates are paid suitable and sufficient salaries, and they are upright and just.

(j) Social, Religious and Political Progress.—Social life in India is inseparable from religious rites and observances. While the manners and customs of a nation may undergo changes, its religious teaching permits of little, if any, modification. Under such circumstances religion inevitably acts as a check upon the introduction of innovations in national customs and practices. In India, if this were not the case, it is certain that the social advancement of its people would have kept pace with the material development of the country. And yet unmistakably the feeling is yearly gaining ground that the time has come for the old order of things to give way to the requirements of new surroundings. The study of Western literature has familiarized the people

with new modes of thought and with new standards of life ; commerce with other countries has brought into their homes commodities formerly unknown ; and contact with Europeans has enlarged their outlook. The rigid exclusiveness of a century ago has disappeared, and in schools pupils of all castes and creeds sit side by side and receive the same instruction. Passengers of all grades of society crowd together into the trains. Members of formerly despised classes fill offices of trust and honour in the State. Under the stress of circumstances the old barriers that separated the people into unsympathetic groups are being gradually removed. The lower orders have risen in the social scale, and though caste distinctions continue, much toleration is evinced. Then, too, at the conclusion of its sessions the National Congress is accustomed to resolve itself into a Social Conference for the discussion of such subjects as the remarriage of child widows, the education of women, and the propriety of crossing the seas. Briefly, the general tendency is in favour of allowing persons greater freedom in the details of every day life.

In Religion there has been of necessity but little to call for remark. The British Government of India is neutral in religious matters, and allows its subjects the fullest freedom in the exercise of their Faiths. Where, however, the claims of humanity have demanded it, the Government has intervened, and *thagi*, *sati*, infanticide, human sacrifices, and hook-swinging have been suppressed. There is now a spirit of inquiry abroad, and people diligently study their Sacred Books in preference to accepting as final the dogmatic teaching of others. Newspapers and journals discuss questions of religion, and missionary attempts are being made to prevent people from falling away from their ancient creeds. A religious movement somewhat analogous to the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century has taken place, and the Sadharan Brahmo Somaj and the Adi Brahmo Somaj have issued as theistic rehabilitations of Hinduism.

It is, however, in the sphere of Politics that the greatest progress has been made. Apart from the share that State servants of all grades have in the administration of the land, non-officials also participate in the conduct of public affairs. By the creation of Municipal Towns and of District Boards, self-government has in some measure been introduced. A certain number of seats on the Provincial Legislative Councils is reserved for non-official Indians who are returned by the votes of constituents. Moreover, as occasion arises, the Viceroy appoints Indians as additional Members of his Council. All Bills are published before they are finally made law, and newspapers and public bodies have an opportunity of criticising the measures which Government has in contemplation. The Indian National Congress assembles annually to ventilate the aspirations and the desires of the people, and political work is diligently carried on throughout the year by influential bodies, such, for example, as the British Indian Association and the Muhammadan Literary Society of Calcutta.

The Mughals were as much foreign rulers of India as are the British. With the solitary exception of Akbar, no Mughal emperor admitted the Hindus or the Muhammadans of the country into the higher services of the State. The English, however, have been more wise and liberal. They have from the earliest time of their occupation of this land employed native labour. At first Indians were given only subordinate posts, but now there is nothing to exclude them from the best appointments.

However, clerkships and Government appointments happily are not the ambition of all. Many prefer to enter the learned professions, and be physicians, surgeons, lawyers, civil engineers, electricians, and journalists. In pre-English times these avenues of honourable remunerative employment did not exist. Then, too, there are many other openings for men of education and influence.

They may as Honorary Magistrates, Municipal Commissioners, and members of District Boards, assist the Government in its scheme of Local Self-Government.

We have so far been considering those who have the blessing of health and are able to work. What about those that are afflicted with sickness and bodily infirmities? For such people in bygone days

*Mercy in the
hour of Suffer-
ing.*

there was no provision made by the ruling dynasty. But now we have hospitals and many charitable institutions. In 1906 there were 2,411 hospitals, which treated 405,000 in-patients and 25,000,000 out-patients. Zenana hospitals are provided in several towns, and medical relief is thus carried to women whose social restrictions prevent their appearing in public. Besides hospitals for general complaints, there are lunatic and leper asylums, cholera hospitals, plague hospitals, small-pox hospitals, alms houses, homes for the aged, and orphanages for the fatherless. They are maintained or aided by the Government at a great expense, and they succour individuals who are in distress. There are, however, occasions when, not isolated individuals only, but a whole population is plunged into a sea of suffering. Too much or too little rain brings on a famine, and millions, who from year to year depend entirely upon the season's crop of paddy, are doomed to starvation. In every country there is a percentage of the population that goes through life on insufficient food. In India out of 300 millions, 40 millions are believed to have but one meal a day. During a famine they have to go without even that meal. Famines have occurred in India for centuries. One is said to have begun in Maharashtra in 1396, and to have lasted twelve years. In 1556, another prevailed in the Mughal districts east of Delhi. The sumptuous Court of Akbar did nothing to feed the hungry. In 1770, a worse famine visited Bengal, and Warren Hastings spent the sum of Rs. 90,000 in relieving the helpless inhabitants. There were no roads, and no means of promptly distri-

buting rice to the famine-stricken. Obviously Rs.90,000 was nothing in comparison to the money that should have been spent ; but Hastings' action marked a great change. It publicly accepted for the Government the responsibility of rescuing people from the pitiless cruelty of famine. His successors have inherited that responsibility, and in the famine of 1874, a sum of 40 million rupees was spent in feeding the ryots. In the famine of 1897, Rs. 53,256,080 were expended, and on an average 2,778,000 sufferers were daily provided with food. The loss of life was comparatively small.

But Government is not idle in years of plenty. It does not wait till calamity has overtaken its subjects. It does all it can to prevent disaster. Against plague and cholera, sanitation is insisted on ; against the ravages of small-pox vaccination is made compulsory ; to combat fevers quinine is dispensed through post offices ; against famines from drought, canals, wells, and tanks are excavated ; and against famines from floods, embankments are raised along rivers that are liable to overflow. To provide food at such times a Famine Fund is maintained. There are over 14,000 miles of canals, which have been made at a cost of 37 crores of rupees, and which with their distributaries, aggregating 40,000 miles in length, are able to irrigate more than 15,000,000 acres of land.

The preceding pages have endeavoured briefly to justify the statements quoted in the opening paragraph of this chapter.

Concluding Remarks. It is not pretended that the condition of India admits of no improvement, or that the administration of the country has reached a state of perfection. But it is claimed that the English have done more for the good of India than any of her earlier rulers, and that the Government earnestly endeavours to promote the real well-being of its subjects. It would be unreasonable to expect no weakness or defect in the administration of so vast a country with its diverse races and their

conflicting interests. But of any government the highest praise is, that it seeks to do what is right. This may without hesitation be said of the Government of India, for the representatives of our King Emperor strenuously endeavour after Truth, Justice, and Unity, believing that "to have won such a dominion is a great achievement ; to hold it by fair and righteous dealings is greater ; to weld it by wise statesmanship into a single and compact whole will be, and is, the greatest."

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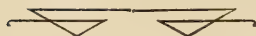
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